ANIMALS and ANIMAL-HUMAN DYNAMICS in VALERIUS FLACCUS' *ARGONAUTICA*.

Anne Tuttle Mackay
University College London
Ph.D., Greek & Latin

Declaration.

I, Anne Tuttle Mackay, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract: *Animals and Animal-Human Dynamics in Valerius Flaccus'* Argonautica.

Animals have come into their own as subjects for research across the Humanities, and recent work focuses on animals in classical culture, animal imagery in different literary genres, and even animal empathy in Greek literature. My thesis, however, is among the first sustained studies on animals—their representation, poetic function, and interactions with humans—in a single work.

The study is backgrounded by research on the Argonautica itself; animal similes; the cultural significance of animals in Rome; and representations and development of animal subjectivity in Latin literature.

I analyze a significant proportion of VF's animals in diverse contexts, and divide the thesis based on those contexts. I first look at similes, for example, like those which highlight the individual experience and development of birds, and those which explore the relationship between epic tradition and portrayals of animals like lions. Animals interacting with humans in the narrative feature in the second half, as victims of human violence—e.g. a sacrificial bull—or as companions and partners, like war-dogs and -horses.

My methodology blends several approaches, examining animals and their relationships with humans, via intertextual and narratological analysis and aspects of empathy, reception, and (occasionally) a wary, self-conscious anthropocentrism. I explore how animal perception, behaviour, and interactions with humans operate in VF's narrative art. Drawing from the scholarship on Valerian themes and poetics, my work demonstrates how animals function within the epic programme, signifying beyond their immediate contexts, on the levels of political and philosophical messaging; personal experience, identity and development; power negotiations, relationships, and communication. The result is fresh illumination of VF, his context, and poetic technique —especially with respect to how he 'thinks with' animals—and finally, the implications for reading animal-human relations as he wrote them in his own time, and for evaluating those relations in the present.

Impact Statement.

This project will, first and foremost, model a methodology for analysing animals in classical texts, a methodology which synthesizes approaches from different fields and sub-disciplines. Most immediately influential are, of course, trends in research in classical philology, especially Latin poetry, and animal studies, and to a lesser degree, the philosophical theories of posthumanism. The thesis is woven of different threads of varying origin but complementary insights from intertextuality, narratology, Valerian poetics, classical epic, animal empathy and subjectivity, and the place of the animal in Roman culture. The methodological model developed is not solely for the use of classicists, however, and will prove relevant and applicable to the study of animal-human dynamics across literary periods, genres, languages, and contexts.

Furthermore, the interdisciplinary approach yields results of interdisciplinary relevance, which will also appeal to a non-academic audience. The division of the thesis into two parts will make clear the complementary nature of the different aspects of the discussion: the *Argonautica's* presentation and consideration of animals, their world, and their perception of it; and their interactions with humans, humans' perception of those and them, and the apparent implications arising from continuity or inconsistency across the representations of these aspects.

This study looks at animal subjectivity, animal-human interactions, and human attitudes towards and use of animals in a systematic and integrated way. The results illuminate the unique and compelling depiction of animal-human relationships of the *Argonautica*, showing both how they function in his poetics, and what they reveal about those aspects of these relationships which should be valued, and which should perhaps be changed. More pointedly, this thesis' foray into ancient literary representations of animals provides an insight into how Valerius' cultural context—specifically, Flavian Rome's attitudes toward animals—may be reflected in his text. New and surprising conclusions about, for example, ancient views on animal perception compel a reconsideration of contemporary attitudes, and a re-articulation of those attitudes as they relate to those revealed in Valerius' text. With a growing concern generally for the environment and the place of the non-human in our world and societies, the ethical implications of the epic's exploration of animal subjectivity and relationship to humans provides yet another perspective from to consider how we think about, behave toward, and relate to animals today.

Acknowledgements.

My gratitude is extended to the many who, directly or indirectly, aided and encouraged me in the production of this thesis.

My thanks first to my patient and professional supervisors, Prof. Gesine Manuwald and Prof. Fiachra Mac Góráin, who read and commented on countless drafts over the past few years. They also found and recommended a multitude of helpful sources during the research process. I am forever indebted to them for their investment of time and thought.

I am also grateful to Helen Lovatt and Mairéad McAuley, both accomplished scholars in Latin epic, for agreeing to act as my external examiners for this thesis. I recorded my appreciation in advance of their reading, and thank them again for their time and input, and for the very stimulating, productive and thought-provoking discussion we had during my viva.

To UCL, I acknowledge my gratitude for the wonderful experience of researching and producing this thesis, and for the resources made available to me for doing so, including the opportunity to work as a PGTA with Rosie Harman. Furthermore, I thank the Department of Greek & Latin for granting me a Bunnell Lewis studentship for two years of my study. It was an incredible privilege and greatly eased my financial burden.

Next, I must note the importance of the feedback offered by several others on a more occasional basis, formally or informally. Though I am sure I will forget someone, it is worthwhile to give names: I thank Maria Wyke and Stephen Colvin, for their participation in my upgrade panel, and those such as Emma Buckley, Attila Ferenczi, Peter Agócs, Simone Finkmann, Rebekka Schirner, Mark Heerink, Leo Landry, Darcy Krasne, Danielle Frisby and Genevieve Lively, for written feedback or for chats at conferences or over lunch. I appreciate too the encouragement of my fellow postgraduate students at UCL, Bristol, and further afield. Thanks for the repeated invitations to give talks, where I always received very useful comments and suggestions.

Tracing responsibility for this work further back in time, I want to say thank you to those who mentored me at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Maryline Parca, and most especially Antony Augoustakis, who first introduced me to Valerius Flaccus. To UIUC itself, I am grateful for the opportunity to study, and to teach Myth and Latin. And a long overdue thank you to all at Hillsdale College who set me on this path: Gavin Weaire, Joseph Garnjobst, Lorna Holmes, Harold Siegel, and Justin Jackson. And before Then, there was Sherry Harris. Many thanks.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family, friends, and church for their encouragement and prayers. I appreciate especially the rigorous proofreading of ST, EV and JV in the days leading up to the submission. I am thankful too for the several cats in my life who have enriched my world with catness and animal proximity: Thomas, Iris, Imogen, and Joab. Finally, thank you to my husband, John, who has constantly supported and indulged me throughout this process; to my son, Roy, who has ensured a proper and happy work-life balance; and to Him who is my Light and my Rock, who has lit my path, kept me safe in the storm, and prospered me on the way. *Soli Deo Gloria.*

Animals and Animal-Human Dynamics in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*.

Table of Contents.

List of abbreviations of classical authors and texts frequent in the thesis.*

Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica.*	AR
Homer*, Ilias.*	*Il.*
Homer, *Odysseia.*	*Od.*
Lucan, *De Bello Civili.*	*BC*
Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura.*	*DRN*
Ovid, *Metamorphoses.*	*Met.*
Statius, *Thebais.*	*Theb.*
Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica.*	VF/*Arg*.
Virgil, *Aeneis.*	*Aen.*
Virgil, *Georgica.*	*Geo.*

*Formatting of the citations of classical works in the footnotes is taken from the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

General Introduction.

Only a few lines from the place where Valerius Flaccus' text breaks off, Medea's distress and uncertainty about Jason and her future are variously compared to the vocal expression of three different animal species, with reasons given for their behaviour in two cases:

> ...tunc tota querellis
> egeritur questuque dies eademque sub astris
> sola movet, maestis veluti nox illa sonaret
> plena lupis quaterentque truces ieiuna leones
> ora vel orbatae traherent suspiria vaccae.
>
> The whole day is then spent
> in complaints and lament, and alone beneath the stars
> she makes the same, just as if that night were resounding, full of
> the howls of the wolf, and savage lions were brandishing [roaring with]
> their hungry maws or bereft cows were drawing out their sighs.
> [*Arg*. 8.453b-7][1]

This is the last of many instances of the author's assimilation of not only external, physical characteristics of human and animal (in this passage, vocalization), but also the various emotional experiences these physical expressions signify. Here, multiple emotions expressed by different species both add to the audible impression of Medea's complaints and cries, and point simultaneously to the variety of experience in the animal world and the complexity of Medea's state of mind in this moment. Her confusion, conflicted feelings, and desperation are communicated through the trebling of animal simile, with different animals' sounds (and traditional epic emotional associations) communicating loneliness, anger, frustration, and grief. The landscape is filled with a cacophony of the outpouring of varying and vying emotions, certainly illustrating Medea's present wild state of heart and mind, and also offering a panoramic view of the hardships natural to the animal condition, with the associations between the species and their respective states typical of epic. For the animals, these hardships are meted out to wolves, lions, and cattle alike, though the three would seem otherwise to have little in common. The grouping together of the species, however, serves to emphasize Medea's personal experience, and to suggest that her experience, like the triple-animal simile,

[1]All translations of the classical texts are my own unless otherwise specified. The Latin excerpts of the *Argonautica* are from Ehlers' 1980 Teubner text. The source editions for all other ancient texts are listed in the bibliography.

represents a confluence of streams of epic tradition.

Earlier in Book 8, Medea's mother not only considers the emotional experience of animals, but actually envisions herself living that experience. Her use of animal imagery communicates clearly how she sees herself, what she would like to be, and how she characterizes Jason. After Jason secures the Fleece, he and Medea return to the *Argo,* ready to leave Colchis in secrecy and haste. The Colchians realize too late that the *Argo* is departing with Medea and the Golden Fleece on board, and assemble on the shore only in time to see the ship sailing away. Medea's mother Eidyia (never named as such by VF) and the other Colchian women stretch out their hands after the departing Minyae, and the queen pleads for Medea's return, bewails her own plight, and wishes she might have the power to avenge herself on Jason:

> ….vellem unguibus uncis 150
> ut volucris possem praedonis in ipsius ora
> ire ratemque supra claroque reposcere cantu
> quam genui.
>
> I wish that, with curved claws, 150
> like a bird I could [rage] against the face of that very thief
> and fly above the ship and demand back with a clear song
> her whom I bore. [8.150b-3a]

Medea's mother wishes she could assume the form of a bird to pursue and punish Jason, and imagines how she would use multiple bird attributes, both of which would be her natural weapons and her voice. Eidyia's tapping into the compelling power of birdsong—one Valerian iteration of the animal voice that connotes grief, desperation, otherness, and beauty—would be a parallel realization of the power of Eidyia's own voice. Her words do not give her the power to attack Jason, but they can create a self-expressive image in text, mirroring what other Valerian female characters represent in visual art (on which see Ch. 4). The queen's will to self-empowerment via animal embodiment evokes numerous bird similes in general, as well as more specifically Ovid's bird metamorphoses. Jason is now, though in a figurative sense, firmly established as a raptor, the animal *praedo*, and Medea's mother imagines herself in an animal body with which she might meet him on his level.[2] This metamorphosis, she asserts, would enable her to call back her daughter—implicit is the persuasive and aesthetic quality of bird call or song compared with the human voice, as well as the

[2]See Kleywegt (2005) 107. Ovid uses variants of the terms in an eagle-and-hare simile describing the capture of Philomela by Tereus at *Met*. 6.516-8, namely *praedator*, *Iovis ales* and *raptor.* Cf. Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.19-20.

maternal care explored by VF in two other bird similes—and to punish Jason for stealing her.[3] Eidyia vents her frustration as a helpless human desiring to take on an animal form. Of course, she cannot achieve this, but in her allusive declaration she mobilizes animal imagery from both VF and Ovid, and compellingly suggests that female animal power would allow her not merely to survive male acts of deceit or violence, but also to match them with terrible revenge. Finally, imagining herself able to 'get inside' the animal experience suggests a potential advantage of non-human over human.

These are only two examples of VF's unique and empathetic exploration of animal experience and subjectivity, its poetic function, and humans' perception of and relationship with animals, features of his poem which are as yet under-analyzed. Indeed, the presence and functions of animals like these in classical epic have only just begun to be appreciated and articulated in animal-focussed scholarship. The burgeoning fields of animal studies especially in relation to classics, and of Valerian studies over the past thirty years, make the intersection of animals and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* (hereafter 'VF' and '*Arg*.' respectively) in this study a timely one.[4] Research on animals in epic has thus far taken a broader view, looking at animals in classical epic generally, or for example at wild animals in Roman epic.[5] Other inquiries devoted to animals have been concerned with one or two references, or animals in single categories (e.g. simile) in one or more works, and are often of intertextual interest; still other works on non-animal epic topics do include interesting but necessarily limited discussions on relevant animal references (usually, again, similes).[6] VF's innovative storytelling and interaction with the epic tradition in his employment of animals makes his poem a worthwhile text to begin examining the role of animals in the genre on a text-by-text basis, that is, examining a large number of animals of different species in different contexts across a single work.

To begin with, animals are key players or features in Valerian-original episodes, for

[3]See Chapter 1.a. below.
[4]Among influential German publications are commentaries and Korn and Tscheidel (1991), Eigler and Lefèvre (1998), and Spaltenstein (2004b), in which are explored e.g. the structure of individual episodes, the impact of the divine dimension on the plot, narratological matters, and the relationship between Valerius and Virgil (and Valerius and Apollonius) as demonstrated e.g. through VF's similes. Anglophone scholarship has begun to catch up, for example, with the publication of Heerink and Manuwald (2014), and French and Italian contributions have been added to the growing number of commentaries on individual books.
[5]e.g. Hawtree (2014) and (2011).
[6]e.g. Briggs (1980), Lonsdale (1990); Malamud and McGuire (1993), Hershkowitz (1998a), Von Glinski (2012).

example, and are heirs of generic interactions about animals from both didactic and heroic epic, philosophy and even elegy. In addition, some animals in VF provide material with which to explore the reflections of contemporary cultural experiences in literature. But most significantly, VF's representations of animals reveal new and special approaches to and assumptions about animals and their lives within ancient epic, approaches and assumptions that in turn reveal not-yet-realized or under-examined facets of VF's world and its animals. Thus, looking at VF's animals in a thorough and systematic way—from a predominantly intertextual angle and with a deliberate focus on animal subjectivity—will bring together applications and conclusions about animals, ancient animal-human dynamics both epic and real, and other aspects of Valerian studies that have not yet been examined in conjunction.

The following sections of the introduction will lay the foundation for the thesis, first exploring the relevance of a study of VF's animals, with its interdisciplinary approach, and then the place of this project in the larger context of Valerian studies. The three remaining sections outline the background of VF and his animals, first that in classical texts concerned with animals; second, the presence and roles of animals, domesticated and wild, in VF's cultural context; and finally, a brief discussion of the ways in which particularly Roman experience with real-world animals may be reflected in extra-Valerian Latin literary developments, especially in VF's models. In the body of the thesis itself, the influence of any of the various components presented here may be more or less obvious or dominant in any given context. The direct influence of VF's contemporary cultural context, for example, is rarely as clear as that of preceding epic textual models. Still, the material regarding the cultural context here is always assumed to be essential and significant background to VF's imagining of his animals—as part of, presumably, both his personal experience and the frame of reference he shares with his readers—even if it cannot be explicitly brought to bear in the analysis of every passage. Finally, the closing section of the introduction will present the thesis' structure and methodology.

1. Animals & the *Argonautica*

On the one hand, Valerian-themed conferences, commentaries, articles, dissertations, and chapters in volumes of different stripes and foci have touched on sundry aspects of the *Arg.*, from VF's poetics—encompassing, for example, the characterization of humans, the nature of the divine, the poet's interaction with the literary tradition, of epic

and trans-generically—to other issues, from the dating of the epic to its political messaging and evaluation of the new Flavian dynasty. His use of animals is only lightly touched on in explorations of other topics, with the exception of similes, though even in these studies the animals themselves are often incidental to the study of the similes as artistic or rhetorical figures and their poetic function.[7] As will be seen, the study of animals overlaps with many of these other themes of interest to Valerian scholars.

On the other hand, the growing interdisciplinary appeal of animal studies has begun to manifest itself in the field of classical philology. Animal studies topics range from the analysis of zoos, through literature of various genres and periods, to the various modes of human consumption of animals.[8] Looming large in the background of much animal studies discussion is the complex theory (or theories) of the posthuman, which demands a re-evaluation—philosophical, ethical, cultural—not only of the human but also of non-human animals, since by definition, posthumanism is an attempted departure from the assumptions of Enlightenment and humanist anthropocentrism.[9] This re-evaluation covers such diverse aspects as subjectivity, embodiment, agency, and 'trans-species affinity.' Recognizing and acknowledging the animal gaze (a term often associated with Derrida's remarks about the gaze of his cat), as well as the challenge to human dominance and consumption of the animal implicit in this acknowledgement, is one aspect of human-animal interactions that has proven useful to animal studies specialists in questioning long-held norms about the uniqueness of human experience, perception, and subjectivity. Work on close interactions between humans and domesticated animal species also explores the implications of lives and experiences shared interspecially, especially with regard to assumptions about human 'exceptionalism'.[10]

What has been very much the purview of philosophers, ethologists, activists, and contemporary and comparative literature specialists (including Payne, who discusses Archilochus and Ovid alongside the likes of Flaubert, Pound, Melville, and H.P.

---

[7]The various animal simile discussions in Gärtner (1994) are particularly useful here.
[8]Just a few of the research topics presented at the conference *Bestiarium: Human and Animal Representations*, September 2016. Waldau (2013) provides an introductory survey to the various contributions and approaches of different disciplines to animal studies and the implications of their findings, while Hurn (2012) examines cultural and societal developments in human-animal interactions (and what she terms 'anthrozoology') from a predominantly anthropological perspective.
[9]The basics of posthumanism(s) and its/their consequences are presented in, for example, Wolfe (2009), and Braidotti (2013), with its consequences for transpecies interactions in Haraway (2008).
[10]Derrida (2008) 2-3; on the confronting gaze of the animal, Payne (2010) esp. 5, 9-12. On the animal gaze (and individuality) in narrative, Woodward (2008); on human-domesticates interactions and relation, Haraway (2008).

Lovecraft), is gaining recognition as a relevant focus of research in classics.[11] Though the approach of this thesis will be primarily an intertextual one, it is more than fitting in a foundational study of animals in one epic to harness some of the vocabulary and concepts of animal studies. Indeed, the analysis of animal subjectivity, addressed from an approach similar to the 'phenomenological' one taken by Korhonen and Ruonakoski (see p. 33 below), and the mutually transformative nature of animal-human interactions, both prominent themes in animal studies, will constitute that field's dimension of the thesis. Additionally, some of the language and concepts developed in the area of narratology can be usefully applied, sometimes overlapping with application of animal studies discourse. Animals, for example, can act as focalizers, which not only points to their function in the narrative, but also exemplifies the 'point of view' aspect of animal subjectivity. Thus, this study incorporates a synthesis of different approaches and concepts—from Valerian, intertextual, narratological, Roman cultural, and animal studies—and offers a model methodology for analysis of animals in individual classical texts.

Recent research has argued that in the literature of the decades immediately preceding and following VF, animals were increasingly perceived and depicted as sharing in many of the same experiences—especially emotional—as humans.[12] Since animals were already used to explore these experiences, if at first predominantly on a physical/sensory level (albeit with inherent emotional significance) in Homeric simile for example, it may be that epic's proliferating depictions of animal sentience reflected real-world developments. This is true not only with regard to exposure to animals (for example, the tiger), but also in sensitivity to animal experience, which would in turn earn more consideration in its own right within epic texts. Of course, epic as a genre is not always naturalistic in its portrayals of real-world dynamics, animals included. Nevertheless, instances of empathy with animals in literature, particularly if they are not previously established tropes, demand some perception of animal embodiment and feeling on the part of the author, and an author's expectation of understanding by the reader. This being the case, VF's animal depictions would offer insight into any developing sensitivity in the culture which they might reflect. They also demonstrate

[11]Thompson and Jennison, and later, Toynbee, were arguably at the Anglophone vanguard of study of animals in antiquity, and their books have been recently supplemented by Campbell (2014). See Johnston et al. (eds.) (2016) on the place of animals in Greek and Roman religion. On animals in classical philosophy and other genres, including epic, didactic, and tragedy, see e.g., Connell (2016), Gale (1991) and (2000), Frisby (2016), Hutchins (2016), Abbattista (2016), Moyo (2016).

[12]On Latin literature, Gale (1991), Gale (2000), Briggs (1980) Hawtree (2011), and Hutchins (2016). See the paragraph on ritual on p. 28 below, also nn. 27, 34, and 86.

the creative options available to epic authors—within the constraints of tradition—for developing and elaborating on animals' roles in the action, their relationships with the texts' humans, and animals themselves among one another and experiences within their own 'worlds' and 'societies'.[13] It is along the lines of these major themes that this study is structured.

Animals and animal imagery have long been recognized as important features of ancient epic. Similes, for example, make up a huge proportion of animal references across the genre. In Scott's organization of Homeric similemes, for example, animal simile types make up three of his seven categories.[14] Similes may be the natural place to begin when discussing animals in epic, for animals and simile-as-concept seem also to be naturally associated with each other in the mind.[15] Yet while similes make up a significant number of animal references in epic, they are only one mode in which animals appear and generate meaning in a text. Suffice it to say here that VF's animals will demonstrate the importance of animals in several categories of references in addition to simile. These categories include interactions between animals and humans in the context of friendship, hunting, and mourning, and also the commodification of animal bodies and images by humans.

Wild animals in Roman epic have already been the topic of a recent dissertation.[16] This present study is interested specifically in animals—some wild, some domesticated—in VF's *Arg*. Such a topic is broader than the length of the previous sentence may suggest, and actually comprises a number of issues: How do VF's animals and their subjectivity contribute to his poetics, and what role do they play in the epic itself, both in the plot and in creating meaning? As many of the types of animals found therein were often used as stock references in epic and other genres, what do VF's animals reveal about his interaction with and choices about his use of the epic tradition? How does VF's representation of various species reflect contemporary Roman attitudes (to

[13]Admittedly, it has been argued that animals do not have 'worlds'. I am not wading into that philosophical discussion in this study (though I note esp. Agamben [2004] 39-41), as the imagining of animal experience in VF requires that the animal subjects must have a perception of their environments so similar to that of humans that those environments are, even if not necessarily, very usefully called 'worlds'--implying an ability on the part of the animal to have not only reactions to but also views on and definitive perceptions of its surroundings.

[14] Scott (2009) 189ff.

[15] See Arist. *Rh*. 3.4.1-3.

[16] Hawtree (2011); also Hawtree (2014) as an introduction to animals in epic. See esp. her overview of the many ways in which animals are employed, e.g., in 'moral' messaging, characterization of individuals and groups, tools in omens, motivators, and even agents, etc., 73-4; 76-7 for brief notes on use and description of animals' emotions, and 80 for use of animals as part of poetic technique, namely, as a tool of 'summarization', or for linking together episodes not otherwise (obviously) connected.

the extent that we can reconstruct those attitudes) and animals' roles and significance in Flavian Rome? Does that representation reflect increased interest—on the part of the author and/or perhaps his contemporaries—in animal behaviour and/or their relationship to humans than is perhaps demonstrated in earlier epics? This study will attempt to explore and answer such questions. Given VF's potentially significant place as negotiator between Lucan and the other Flavian and later epicists, and as heir of Homer, AR, Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid and Lucan, his animals, along with other aspects of his poetics, constitutes an integral part of forging an epic on the threshold. This threshold is generic, as an epic emulating the structure and mythic material of the *Aeneid*, and political, as the first extant epic written during a period of transition, in a post-civil war Rome under a new dynasty.

2. Current Valerian Scholarship

In terms of sustained focus on animals in specific Latin epics, a study of VF's animals may currently have few counterparts. Nevertheless the recent work on his relationship to his literary predecessors, both epic and tragic, is indispensable to a reading of his animals, especially in the area of similes and typed passages. VF's epic animals do not belong to him alone; like most components of epic, they are drawn from 'circumscribed' admissible material. VF's animals *per se*, and their role in the poem, cannot be analyzed without the issues of allusion/references, repetition, innovation and intertextual concerns, being brought to bear upon the reading.[17] His re-inventing and -envisioning of the prehistoric landscape, and his employment of generic *topoi*, is certainly demonstrated in his versions of animal-centric passages, the templates of which in several cases date back to Homer. Some of his simile animals are adapted from Virgil, of which a significant number have already been represented by and thus reinterpreted through Ovid and Lucan.[18] Others seem to have come down to VF from Homer or AR, but may at times have already passed through Roman pens before being taken up by VF. Still other animals and their roles appear to be invented wholly by VF himself. As is evident in many aspects of the epic, such as in original episodes or 'recuperated' characters, VF emulates, (re)creates and transforms. His animals too demonstrate his creative and thoughtful interaction with traditional material, as well as

[17]Hinds (1998) 40: 'Latin verse works with a limited number of words and themes… A discourse which is as circumscribed as is Roman poetry in its choices of genre, subject-matter and vocabulary is more sensitive, not less sensitive, to the need to confront its past utterances.'

[18] See Stover (2014) for VF's relationship to Lucan, and to Ovid, see Keith (2014).

the influence of contemporary culture on that interaction.

Like Virgil, VF assimilates a predominantly mythical narrative to a (partially) historicizing project, though with necessarily more subtlety given the greater remoteness of source material in relation to his own period and place. This is true both temporally, as Jason's journey pre-dates the Trojan war by a generation, and geographically, as the action follows a journey eastward from Greece. Nonetheless, the politics of the *Arg.* likely reflect the contemporary circumstances in his Rome, while the text's literary identity is a product of VF's reading of, and self-conscious working through, the epic tradition, the process of which has been discussed from several angles.[19] There is also in the text an unlikely synthesis of a proleptic, explanatory argument of geo-political history and shifts of power outlined in Jupiter's *Weltenplan* (1.531-60) and the folkloric, episodic quest of the Minyae, replete with its monsters and larger-than-life heroes and demigods. VF has adapted the quest of Jason to his purposes, using both the divine machinery and human characters to re-present the journey of the Minyae as an epic accessible to Roman audiences with ideological implications for Flavian Rome.[20] In brief, there is a general divide amongst scholars about VF's (rather, the *Arg.*'s) perspective on the Flavians, particularly as a foil or alternative to the previous dynasty. One argument is that the *Arg.* presents an optimistic mythical commentary on recent events in Rome, highlighting the promise of peace and prosperity under a new, competent and benevolent regime (the Flavians) which has emerged from a dark period of uncertainty, danger and chaos (under the Julio-Claudians). An opposing perspective is more suspicious of this shift of power, particularly reading the disposition of the divine in the epic as a challenge to claims or acceptance of unquestionable beneficence and stability on the part of those then in power in Rome.[21]

Certainly the inauguration of the new dynasty constituted a political and cultural turning-point, and many themes and events in *Arg.* point to Rome's recent past, its

[19]Of which the following are only a selection: on political reflections, Taylor (1994); Penwill (2013); Bernstein (2014); Clauss (2014). On VF's 'self-positioning', see esp. Deremetz (2014), also Zissos (1999); Fucecchi (2014); Heerink (2014); Keith (2014); Stover (2014). VF's writing of epic also incorporates tragic (and, I would argue, elegiac) elements; see Davis (2014) and Buckley (2014) on VF's tragic components; Stover (2003) and (2012) for elegiac undertones. Yet, cf. Hershkowitz (1998b) 75 for her argument that VF is (in places) reclaiming or 'rescuing' epic from Ovid's 'elegizing' tendencies.
[20]No different, of course, from AR before him. AR's version offers a world at times without the promise of stable divine guidance, a new Iron Age overshadowed by the threat of devolving morality (Clauss [2000] 28-9; though, for a more positive reading of the temporal, cosmic and political progression, in spite of tragic elements and the complexities of authority in the administration of justice, see Mori [2008] 215ff., esp. 221-3).
[21]See e.g. Stover (2012), and cf. Ganiban (2014).

complicated relationships, religious, political and social uncertainty, and fluctuating power dynamic. Discussion here is informed by scholarly research and arguments from both sides of the divide, both of those who read the *Arg*. as a positive reflection on the Flavians, and those who conclude that the outlook is mixed or negative. These readings in turn colour interpretation of the characters and events in the epic, perhaps most especially the presentation of heroism. Probably due as much to AR's version as anything else, the writing of the hero in an *Argonautica* by nature seems complex, and even tenuous as a valid categorization of any of the major players (with the exception of Hercules). It has been argued that VF's version of the *Arg*. is practically Romanized, in themes, content, and characterization, particularly of Jason, who has been at least partially 'recuperated' as a Virgilian, if not Homeric, hero.[22] Following this line, I will assume for much of my own argument the aforementioned 'Romanization' of an artefact with Greek roots, but with the 'future' of Rome in view, and resultant cultural and political resonances.

Similar to the Greek *Argonautica*, VF's poem combines elements of mythological fantasy and realism. While battles against monsters are numerous in the text and background of the poem (for instance, in the many allusions to Hercules' Labours), VF has taken care to place the narrative firmly in a (quasi-)historical framework, looking forward not only to the next generation's great Event, the Trojan War, but also the shift of power from East to West, from the Dardanians, to the Greeks, then back to the Dardanians' descendants in Latium.[23] Admittedly the historical quality is a conceit, and resembles Herodotus' assertion in the beginning of the *Histories* that the origin of the 5th-century conflict between Greece and Persia was the abduction of Medea, later answered by the theft of Helen, and so on. VF uses the same mythical event, the journey of the *Argo*, as a catalyst which initiates a string of events embodying the movement of power from East (Colchis) to West (eventually, Rome). Thus, while VF preserves the mythic past and quality of the adventures, the weightiest aspects of the narrative are appropriated for the purpose of grounding the voyage of the *Argo* in a Roman context, and in the literarily constructed Roman past. Such aspects include the relationships between the various political leaders, the function of customs and ritual, the intents and activity of the gods, and the characterization of the heroes. These have been recast, given greater relevance for Roman identity and history, both real and

[22]Particularly in Hershkowtiz (1998b). Of course, 'reading' Aeneas is far from straightforward; see e.g. Hardie (1993) 22-3.
[23]Though this power shift is seen in AR as well, Clauss (2000) 26.

legendary. Animals play a unique role in this programme, and beyond offering models of behaviour, political as well as heroic and familial, they act and influence, illustrating political and social realities and possibilities, negotiation of relationships between the individual and community, and identity within different contexts; they empower, work with or disable heroes; stand as points of contrast and comparison with humans; bridge the gap between human and divine, and much more.

VF's animals reflect the place of the *Arg*. as a sort of transitional work, one that in its turn reflects the political change and developments in Rome, while returning—relative to its genre—to some traditional epic themes.[24] The *Arg*. for example shows a deliberate return to the structure of the *Aeneid*. The reintroduction of the divine and setting in the mythic past, with a tight, for the most part self-contained, narrative, is in different ways a departure from the projects of Ovid and Lucan, whose work nevertheless cannot but influence and inspire VF. The *Arg.*'s animals are part of that generic and political negotiation of development, breaking new ground while reclaiming and appropriating different aspects of the tradition. Exploration of animals will add to the Valerian conversation particularly in this regard, as their representation in the epic allows for political interpretation, embodying power dynamics within and between individuals and groups, societies and families, the divine and the mortal. This study will also explore just how animals fit into VF's epic programme, and how his literary treatment may reflect not only an evolution of animal representation in literature, but also developing attitudes toward and understandings of animals in his contemporary culture. As stated before, the methodology, bringing together approaches and vocabulary from several different (sub)disciplines and specialities, will demonstrate the advantage of approaching animals and their interactions with humans in classical texts from several different perspectives, utilizing language and presuppositions from across those fields, in tandem, for a thorough and interdisciplinary appraisal of animals and animal-human relationships in literature and the culture(s) that produce it. In turn, the resulting discussions and conclusions will prove relevant additions to the growing bodies of work in Valerian and animal studies, particularly in the latter's intersection with classical literature, and in the investigation of animals in ancient thought, religion, and art more broadly, but especially in Roman culture as evidenced in the *Arg*.

[24]The oft-asserted 'self-awareness' of the poet himself will be discussed in the main chapters.

3. Literary Background: Animals in Ancient Sources

While this investigation into VF's animals is not from a predominantly zoological perspective, VF must be read with all the literary background available to him in mind, and that includes zoological material. Threads, influences, and interactions particular to epic will be addressed in the discussions of individual animal passages in the main chapters. This section will include a brief tracing of scientific observations by the ancients of animal behaviour, catalogues of animal lore and marvels, and guides to animal husbandry (which here includes the epic *Georgics*), with sources that pre- and post-date VF. Some of these are very deliberately devoted to the discussion of animals. Others are focused on subjects that naturally segue into consideration of animals.[25] These sources may or may not have been literary influences on VF in his writing of animals in the *Arg.*, but are nevertheless significant for how they reflect contemporary beliefs about and attitudes toward animals. The authors also record human-animal interaction and experience from the past, and likely influenced the culture as reinforcers of contemporary thought and conceptions, especially if considered authoritative by their readers.[26]

Zoological overviews, which comprise anatomical, physiological and behavioural observations, include the works of Aristotle (4th c. BC) and Pliny the Elder (1st c. AD). Aristotle's is the first extant protracted study of animals. Pliny follows, supplements, and at times corrects Aristotle, and both not only include phenomena observed by themselves personally or by sources whom they apparently trust, but they also record popular beliefs about and explanations of certain animal behaviour, such as migration or conception, which they may endorse, critique, or omit to comment upon. Practical prose treatises such as that of Varro (1st c. BC) detail the keeping, raising, and value of livestock; Virgil explores similar themes in poetry in the *Georgics*.[27] Varro's work demonstrates not only a great depth and breadth of knowledge about the various domestic species, but also describes an overall high standard of animal welfare. Of

[25]Readers are directed to Appendix B. for the author's overview of ancient works dedicated to animal topics.

[26]Reinforcement of conceptions: Readers read VF's animals within their cultural context (which has shaped their shared knowledge as participants in a 'cultural encyclopedia') as well as within the genre, and cooperating with VF's text to undo, renew and add to the meanings and models of animals and animal-human interactions, with typed epic animals and their behaviour functioning as signs. Reading and interpretation of terms as signs, of which typed animals in literature are a category, with pre-existing meanings and inherent 'instructions' which in new texts and contexts can acquire new meanings, is outlined in Eco (1981) 36, 41-5.

[27]While the *Geo.* (and Varro) offer important insights into ancient animal husbandry, the *Geo.* are much more than a surface-level handbook, the animals representing more than their living counterparts in their value, keeping and behaviour; see Gale (2000) 54-5, 84-5, 88-112.

course, this is for the greatest profitability for the farmer in the long term, but nevertheless beneficial to the animals themselves. In addition, he includes in his section on birds a detailed description of his aviary, in which he keeps birds simply to enjoy them, though of course the expansiveness and grandeur of the aviary itself renders it a status symbol as well. Understandably, this was thus a human-animal dynamic the average Roman could not afford to replicate.[28]

Hunting and fishing treatises, such as those attributed to Oppian (2nd c. AD), also note animal behaviour from a practical point of view, and likewise record ancient observation of animal behaviour and habits, knowledge of which gave human hunters n advantage. Incidentally, the efforts and methods of the fowler appealed to writers of love poetry as useful metaphors for erotic pursuit. Striking in the *Halieutica* in particular is the beautiful, even warm and affecting, description of the relationship between whales and their companion 'pilot fish', which is then followed by the poet's pragmatic recommendation that the whaler first deprive the whale of its friends, rendering it vulnerable to entrapment and attack. The recognition and admiration of the special relationship between these animal species does not keep the human predator from disrupting that relationship to his own advantage.

Popular observations of and beliefs about animal 'character traits' are transmitted through the fables of Aesop (6th c. BC) and Phaedrus (1st c. AD). Most animal species feature repeatedly throughout the collections, often exhibiting the same traits: foxes are cunning and deceitful, dogs are devoted yet gullible, certain species of birds are discontent, ambitious, and anxious to change their status in the social world of fable. While animals are for the most part stereotyped in their habits, desires, virtues and vices, several fables do invite the hearer/reader to see the world from an animals' point of view, and from that view, to scrutinize the behaviour of other animals or even humans.[29] In terms of exploring the distinction between human and non-human, Plutarch (late 1st-early 2nd c. AD) demonstrates and articulates philosophical interest in animal virtue. His interlocutors in *De Sollertia Animalium* contrast marine with

[28]Admittedly, the keeping of such animals solely for pleasure defies the ideal of the *pastio villatica* as debated by the interlocutors in Varro, *Rust*. 3; Lucullus' failed attempt to resolve the opposition between the ultimate for-profit aviary of Merula and the *delectatio*-oriented aviary of Varro underlines the satirical (and allegorical) significance of the aviaries as patterns for contrasting perspectives on complicated contemporary Roman political dynamics; see Nelsestuen (2015) 183-5, 197-203; Kronenberg (2009) 120-4.

[29]See Moyo (2016) for a comparative study on the metaphorical/symbolic use of animals in didactic literature in Ancient Greek and Kalanga literature. This level of relationship also adduces a similarity between human and animal experience, as animals are readily used to stand in for humans and human society, 4, 6-7,

terrestrial animals, with the former coming out on top. Plutarch's animal speaker in the *Gryllus* takes his evaluation one step further: in the final analysis, animals are actually morally superior to humans.

Both fables and philosophical inquiry allow for questioning and challenging of notions about human/animal dynamics, perspective, and hierarchies. Aelian's (d. c. 235 AD) approach to his catalogue *De Natura Animalium* highlights popular beliefs, fancies, and local legends about animals in general or in particular, especially those which had special relationships with humans. His disposition as 'paradoxographer' supplements Aristotle's and Pliny the Elder's exhaustive tomes with a whimsical mix of accepted 'fact' (sometimes a report of such facts with a note of the author's own incredulity) and of the fantastical.[30] This fascination with the exotic and unusual is found also in Herodotus, where the author's approach to the fabulous reveals both a scientific interest in the proof and demonstration of the existence of certain creatures (India's giant ants, Arabia's winged snakes), as well as religious beliefs concerning origins and Providence.[31] Predating Aristotle, Herodotus' frequent observation and description of animals and nature as a legitimate object of inquiry, even if incidental to his overall programme, no doubt broke ground for later classical zoographical pursuits. Interest in animal behaviour and in strange animals is however not as pervasive in his work as in Aelian's, and the *Histories* is useful more for drawing conclusions about Herodotus' methodology in determining and establishing fact (and 'naturalness') than for learning about perceptions of animals and their experience. In contrast, as in the Fables and in Plutarch, Aelian's material invites consideration of animal morality, and at times, censure of man's presumed superiority, and particularly the modes in which it is enacted —hunting, fishing, and arena bloodsport.[32] The few extant philosophical explorations from the Roman period of animals' moral status and their relationship to humans, including the question of whether it is right and/or natural for humans to kill (and eat) other animals, also proves the surprising vigour of an undoubtedly minority stream of thought contemporary with the mass slaughter of animals in the games, discussed in the next section.[33]

---

[30]Aelian. (Scholfield, A.F., trans.) (1958) *On the characteristics of Animals,* xiii.
[31]Romm (2006) 184-5; Zingross (1998) 85ff.
[32]Smith (2014) 270-2. Smith here also draws parallels between Aelian's programme and that of Oppian, whom he argues assimilates human and animal suffering and thereby problematizes the very pursuits on which he treats.
[33]Especially Plutarch (*De Esu Carnium*) and Porphyry (*De Abstinentia Ab Esu Animalium*), of course writing later than VF. Still, Plutarch and Porphyry wrote within a philosophical dialogue, in which previous authors and philosophers had written on animal suffering and promoted vegetarianism, albeit for

It is not clear whether there exist literary ties or ideological dependence between VF and those authors who pre-dated him (with the exception of Virgil) or were his contemporaries. Yet zoological representations in their work indicate beliefs and attitudes about animals in general or species in particular, some of which VF shares, and perhaps echoes, such as Pliny's comments on tigers, paralleled twice in the *Arg*. Also, several extant works on animals, from different angles, sometimes express or demonstrate the existence of sympathy with animals—even to the extent of challenging widely-accepted practices—as groups and individuals; domestic and wild; terrestrial, avian, and marine. VF's use of the *Georgics* as a source (didactic epic on a small scale relative to, for example, Lucretius), and his use of both epic images of animals (mourning horses) and images common in contemporary Roman literature and art (tigresses and their fierce maternal instincts), justify a search for and sustained analysis of such expressions, subtle or overt, by VF. On a more basic level, VF's representations of animals that parallel those in Aristotle and Pliny add to the three-dimensionality of the argonautic world, filling it in with creatures recognizable from other literary sources, popular belief, and real-life experience, or a combination of these. These depictions of the recognizable may then be presented in unexpected ways, appropriated for or adjusted to function meaningfully in their new epic context.

4. Cultural Contexts: Animals in Flavian Rome

Given that there are so many different angles from which to look at animals in antiquity, exemplified in, for example, the wide range of topics covered in Campbell's recent *Handbook*, and myriad roles which animals filled, this brief section on the economic and cultural roles of animals in the Flavian period will detail those aspects of animal presence in the culture that may be reflected in VF's portrayal of animals in the epic, or would have informed his readers' imagining of them. These include: domesticated animals' roles and ubiquity in the Roman economy, and in ritual, especially sacrifice; the sophistication of the classing, import, and selective breeding of animals, particularly horses as a marker of practical specialization of animal types, even as luxury items; the evidence of varying levels of spatial and emotional proximity to Romans of animal species; the ever-increasing familiarity with the exotic due to the expansion of both the empire's trade and influence, and the games; the socio-psychological and political

---

different reasons (sometimes for the well-being of the human rather than the animal). This dialogue (which included epicists such as Lucretius and Ovid) is summarized in Dombrowski (2014).

dimensions of the procurement and presentation of animals for public spectacles; and lastly the philosophical dialogue carried on in the background of the games culture concerning the ethics of human-animal interactions and animal welfare.

a. Domesticated Animals

The importance of domesticated species in Roman life in antiquity cannot be overstated. Their roles in the economy, in religious practice, their indispensability to agriculture and to the state's military strength, hint at the many ways in which the early empire depended on the capabilities, health, and numbers of its subjugated fauna. Animals as beasts of burden, herders, pullers of the plough, and as sources of food, clothing, and indeed as victims for sacrifice make up the share of domesticated animals populating the realm of agriculture. These included sheep, goats, pigs, oxen, donkeys and mules.[34] By VF's time, most animals populating the agricultural and religious landscape had served those purposes for centuries.[35] Domesticates dominated the personal experience with animals of most Romans, particularly the lower classes. Of course, such large animals in their farming functions were relegated to the countryside—on working farms and villa estates. When seen in Rome itself, they were much more likely to be present as sacrificial victims for religious or state occasions, or else for transporting goods.

Animals served a more unidimensional purpose in religious ritual. Naturally, there is significant overlap between animals linked to agriculture and those dedicated to use in ritual, as pigs, sheep, goats, cattle, and birds were regularly sacrificed on the altar. Sheep and piglets were the most common offerings in the Roman period.[36] Thus, the well-known literary representations of sacrifices involving (especially many) cattle do not represent the real-world Roman 'norm'—rather, they point to an idealised or exalted ritual experience, or highlight the remoteness of the literary world.[37] Species, size, sex, and appearance were all dictated both by the occasion and the god(s) to whom the animals were offered. The expense and scale of sacrifices varied according to context, whether public, private cult, or household.[38] It is clear, however, that for most Romans, sacrifices were of both religious and gastronomic significance, as the occasion meant a

[34]See Toynbee (2013) 151, 324-5 for discussion on cattle breeding, and beef consumption. See also McInerney (2014) on gastronomy, the place of sacrificial meat, class tastes and statements.
[35]Another, semi-domesticated, species of agricultural significance is the honeybee, Toynbee (2013) ix, to whose importance VF himself testifies in his catalogue of heroes, 1.394-7.
[36]For the ritual process, see Ekroth (2014) 328-30, Scheid (2007) 265-7; and on aspects of the victims, see Ekroth (2014) 330-7, also Scheid (2007) 264, 275. Scheid also notes the connection between sacrifice and banquets and games, 269-70.
[37]McInerney (2014) 249; Ekroth (2014) 336-7.

rare opportunity to include meat on the menu.[39]

Function also dictated procedure and decision-making at the level of selective breeding. Non-equid hoofed animals, intended for the fire or the farm, were selectively bred for specific characteristics with a view toward their use, e.g., for stamina at the yoke or higher-quality wool.[40] Horses were selectively bred locally as well as imported from regions with reputations for fine animals. In the early imperial period for example, the preferred origin for racehorses was North Africa.[41] Horses were expensive and their ownership was for the most part restricted to the upper classes, who could afford their maintenance, and to the military. They served as status symbols, as means of transportation (mostly as mounts rather than in teams yoked to vehicles), were used in hunting in civilian life, for pulling chariots on ceremonial occasions, and were the dominant feature in the cavalry (oxen did military draught work).[42] Chariot racing was a particular niche in which they gained glory for themselves as well as their drivers. The popularity of the sport (though it had not yet reached its peak in Rome by VF's time), as well as the competitive spirit and risk involved, earned victorious horses and their drivers a heroic status.[43] These components, along with frequent chariot crashes, which were apparently much anticipated by the spectators, certainly would have informed the imaginations of the readers of VF's Colchian civil war, the field of which is bustling with cavalry, in Book 6.

In addition to stardom in the Circus, a socio-psychological dynamic set horses apart from other livestock and suggests a natural comparison with dogs. Humans formed closer personal bonds with individuals of these two species than with other types of animals, a reality that is sometimes reflected in epic.[44] Dogs, already diversified into several types and 'breeds' in the Flavian period, filled various roles, as pets, herders,

---

[38]'Average' and poorer households' sacrifices would not have consisted of animals so large and expensive, if they consisted of animals at all. Rather, they would have involved smaller species, such as birds and even fish, or cereal- / fruit-based products, or liquids, Scheid (2007) 275.
[39]McInerney (2014) 248-51.
[40]Howe (2014) 100.
[41]Bell & Willekes (2014) 485.
[42]See Toynbee (2013) 169-70 on the use of horses in the *lusus Troiae*, the origin of which is depicted in Virgil.
[43]Bell & Willekes (2014) 484-5, 487; Toynbee (2013) 177-8 (though also see 184-5 on the pitiful retirement circumstances of some racers).
[44]Though it is hard to characterize human-animal attachments in antiquity in any general way: see MacKinnon on the varying attitudes toward and treatment of 'pets', (2014b) esp. 270 and *passim* (dogs discussed on 270-4; horses on 274-5). Well-known epic passages feature the devotion of dogs and horses from the beginning, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 17.426ff. and Hom. *Od.* 17.290ff.*;* cf. Verg. *Aen.* 10.860ff., 11.89-90. See Chh. 2.b.ii. and 3.b. below.

guards, hunters, and even as allies on the battlefield.[45] In this last arena, more detailed historical accounts point to the service of dogs in Greece and the Eastern and North-eastern reaches of the empire, and thus their mention in the ranks of Perses' partisans is a fitting touch in *Arg.* 6.107.[46] In addition, VF is not the only author of 'fiction' to mention the popular, small lap-dog breed(s).[47] The apparent ubiquity, at least among the upper classes, of dogs bred solely for companionship arguably shows a 'softer side' of Roman attitudes toward animals, beyond pragmatic functionality. The Romans loved their pets, and furthermore provided well for their livestock, as the archaeological record and veterinary works attest.[48]

b. Wild Animals

The Romans knew well how to care for their domesticated animals, but their attitude toward and treatment of wild beasts contrast sharply, for they went to great lengths to dominate and destroy animals in imaginative and entertaining ways.[49] If dogs and horses in particular received the best of Roman appreciation for animals, wild animals under the empire experienced the effect of the perceived moral gulf between humans and non-humans: at vast expense were exotic fauna hunted and shipped into Rome from all over the known world, most of them to be killed violently in spectacles shortly after their arrival. The cultural and psychological causes and consequences of spectacular animal abuse are best encapsulated in the idea of animals as representatives of irrational, dangerous Nature, while man's or the state's power to kill them, or to pit the animals against each other, represents the 'triumph of human rationality over the chaos of Nature'.[50] This attitude was not universal and dissenting voices are heard through various texts, though they also have varying personal or philosophical reasons for their discomfort with mass slaughter of animals in the games This will be discussed further below.

The group-psychological cause for the development in Rome of the *venationes* and

---

[45]Toynbee (2013) interestingly enough devotes hardly any space to dogs in military contexts, while organizing comments on dogs into several other categories based on their 'purpose', 102-12, 121-2.
[46]Mayor (2014) 286-7.
[47]MacKinnon (2014b) mentions Lucretius and Petronius, among others, 272-3. A little dog appears in a Valerian simile (7.124ff.) which some have found lacking in aesthetic appeal, Summers (1894) 60.
[48]See Toynbee (2013) 317-34 for a summary of livestock care for and management of several domesticated species.
[49]See e.g. Shelton (2014); she describes a boat filled with animals built to collapse in the arena, 471. Henig observes that the ancients are hardly alone in this kind of entertainment, 'suggesting that cruelty is endemic in human nature,' Toynbee (2013) xi-xii.
[50]Shelton (2014) 466-7.

other games involving animals is not commonly articulated by the ancient commentators who write about them. The games themselves are rather talked about as an occasion for practical expressions of magnanimity (on the part of the giver), and for observers either to praise the giver of the games for his liberality, or to criticize him for his ostentation—or stinginess.[51] Or, as in Seneca's letter to Lucilius, avoiding the games was a means by which to discern and distinguish the philosopher from the common crowd.[52] Seneca's stated reasons for wanting Lucilius to keep away from the arena do not include an explicit concern for animal welfare, though the well-known story Seneca relates of Pompey's reluctant sparing of elephants at the request of a sympathetic crowd indicated that, on occasion, spectators could be moved to pity rather than gratified by animal suffering.[53] And, as noted above, some writers, such as Cicero and Tacitus, may have implicitly and explicitly questioned the morality of mass victimization of animals for entertainment, while those Roman period writers who espoused vegetarianism (again, for various reasons) like Plutarch and Porphyry, and their sympathizers, such as Ovid and Seneca, no doubt opposed this infliction of unnecessary suffering.[54] The approval of the majority, however, and political and economic realities were reflected in displays of exotic animals, including their destruction, as public officials strove to please constituents with ever more impressive numbers and species, and also demonstrated the extent of Roman authority over the lands whence the live imports came.[55]

Those exotic live imports were on display in Rome from the time of the Punic Wars. The privilege of sponsoring the games and staged hunts in which they performed and were killed was limited to the imperial family by Augustus, but nevertheless, thereafter the grandeur and scale in Rome only increased under the early empire and was a regular component of city life. The sheer variety of animals displayed throughout the period allowed vast numbers of Romans a taste of the exotic: they knew well what lions and elephants looked like and sounded like. The numbers in which animals were captured and brought to Rome, however, depleted the native populations and coincided

[51]Aug. *RG* 22-3; Cic. *Off*. 2.57-8; Suet. *Tib*. 47.1
[52]Sen. *Ep*. 7.2-5. Cf. Pliny the Younger's criticism of chariot races, *Ep.* 9.6.
[53]Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 13.6-7. The event is also described by Pliny the Elder at *HN* 7.19-21; Cassius Dio suggests that Pompey was put out by this unexpected show of compassion, Cass. Dio 39.38.2-4.
[54]Cicero (*Fam*. 7.1.3) and Tacitus (*Dial*. 29) are also dubious about the moral and intellectual merit of such spectacles; see Dombrowski (2014) 545-8 and n.33 above.
[55]Shelton (2014) 469-71; Toynbee (2013) 17-9; see also 22 on the scale of carnage under Domitian and Trajan, and Dio on both wild and tame beasts killed *en masse* under Titus and Trajan, Cass. Dio 66.25.1, 68.15.1.

with man-made changes in the local environments. Not surprisingly, many species became scarce or extinct in various locales, and by the third century it was becoming difficult to meet demand in Rome.[56] But this was after VF's time, during which exotic beasts—and spectacles featuring them—were still relatively plentiful.

The dynamics of spectacle and spectatorship, the confrontation between human and animal antagonists, and between the native and the exotic, feature prominently in VF as reflections of the broader themes of the work. Such events and motifs carry significant cultural currency due to the Roman games occupying the readers' contemporary backdrop. Thus questions raised by (especially problematic) depictions will not only invite reflection on the implications of spectacle and human-animal (and animal-animal) interactions like these for interpretation of the text, but also for the readers' experience and identity as spectators at human-animal spectacles, and indeed for the nature of the spectacles themselves. Even the very presence in the *Arg*. of Orpheus, a hero whose special gifts evoke an ideal of harmony with nature, including wild predators, alongside the instances of animal-human antagonism in the plot, may subtly suggest the dissonance in Rome. Orpheus and his animal company are common in art, while the same species he charms are killed by the hundreds on special occasions.[57] Yet death was not always the end for some exotic animals; some wealthy elites maintained private preserves, or kept tamed or semi-tamed predators, as well as deer and hare, as pets, in special enclosures or even in their homes.[58] The exposure of most Romans to non-native species, however, was limited to the arena.

c. Influence of Roman Experience on Animal Depictions in Literature

There exists what Toynbee has called a 'problem', one not limited to the period she discusses: she addresses an incongruity in the Roman attitude toward animal life in general, especially wild specimens brought in for various types of spectacle, and the valuation of certain animals in particular, like horses, dogs, and pet birds, with which humans had meaningful relationships.[59] While animals in general were not accorded 'rights' as such, and in games were killed in vast numbers for purposes that do not resonate with present day scholars or many others, still, Romans appreciated animal beauty, grace, and power. Individual animals, either particular pets, horses, and household 'members' or arena participants, evoked admiration, affection, and even

[56]Shelton (2014) 470, 473.
[57]Toynbee (2013) 288-9; though Orpheus himself might also be parodied, Toynbee (2013) 16, 95.
[58]MacKinnon (2014b) 277-9.

devotion from their human counterparts.[60] Horses that had won glory in the Circus lost even their dignity in retirement and for this drew the sympathy of poets. Animals destined for death in the arena could move the human spectators to such pity that they demanded the animals be spared.[61]

At any rate, imperial writers like VF had a significant advantage over their predecessors in terms of exposure to animals. The behaviour and especially the appearance of rare species provided material for an increasing variety of animal illustration and description in literature, and was likely key in the innovation on stock animal types, particularly in epic simile.[62] For example most Greeks, especially before the Hellenistic period, had never seen a lion.[63] In contrast, the number of—and, as far as we know, original—details in lion similes in the *Arg*. likely point to the greater accessibility of the species to urban-dwelling humans in the Flavian period: Dio reports that 500 lions had been despatched over only five days under Pompey, while 300 were killed by Nero's bodyguard.[64] Presumably during the period in between, the average person living in Rome saw the traffic of such animals in and out of the city more and more frequently, and the numbers of animals killed in the arena generally increased over time for as long as the supply populations held out. Such displays in Rome naturally resulted in more opportunities for observation, and thence greater dissemination of information (accurate or not) about the animals' appearance and habits with which to fill out and nuance literary representations. Such dissemination would have allowed an

[59]Also 'paradox', 21, 23. We are not without our own incongruities in contemporary Western culture, where meat consumption is high, but so is the rate of money spent on 'luxury' items for pets ($1 billion USD in the UK in 2015; over $5 billion in the US). The situation is perhaps rendered more complex by legislation—and its alleged ineffectiveness—concerned with animal welfare across a wide range of contexts. At any rate, the development of legislation against neglect of and cruelty to animals, even those destined for the human dinner table, constitutes a significant distinction between ancient Rome and contemporary Europe, though of course attitudes and cultural norms still vary country to country. Cf. for example different historic and current attitudes on foie gras, production of which is effectively banned in most of the EU, while in France, the practice is protected as part of France's gastronomic heritage, Article L654-27-1.

[60]See Henig on the 'brutality' of the games in his introduction to Toynbee 2013, vii-viii, xi-xii; cf. contrasting attitudes at Toynbee (2013) 21-3, and xii: 'In myth, we find sentimental tales such as that of Arion and the dolphin, and of Cyparissus and his stag, both subjects for art which again reveal a regard for the particular rather than a true concern for animals as such.'

[61] Toynbee (2013) 185; 22.

[62]See Hawtree (2014) 75 for the arrival in epic of the tiger. Varro testified to its not having yet been captured alive (presumably by the Romans) by his time, LL 5.100. The confusion and lack of distinction between different species of big cat, especially those with patterned coats, makes it difficult to assess people's familiarity with not only the tiger, but also the leopard and cheetah, particularly in the Republican period, Kitchell Jr., (2014) 183-4; Jennison (1937) 183-7. Later, increased exposure to tigers would make for more distinctive and accurate physical depictions, but Jennison doubts that captive tigers would have been seen outside of Rome itself, 168.

[63]Hawtree (2011) 26-7.

[64] Cass. Dio 39.38.1-2; 61b.9.1.

author like VF more knowledge and animal lore at his disposal than Homer, AR, Lucretius and even Virgil, without requiring personal experience in observing lions in, say, the arena or a menagerie. In other areas of culture, Roman visual artists skilfully captured animals with striking naturalism in painting, sculpture and mosaics, demonstrating aesthetic appreciation as well as keen powers of observation. In literature, animals are often attributed anthropomorphic characteristics and attitudes.[65] In some cases, they are even granted a culture of their own, unique to their species, or are often used to explore human nature or society.[66]

Animals were thus useful for drawing comparisons or depicting complicated relationships in artful, subtle, and sometimes simple ways. The entirety of Virgil's *Georgics* implies the relevance of the labour of the fields, including bee-keeping, and agricultural landscapes, to the [likely] urban-dwelling readers and hearers of his poetry,[67] and the interest and appropriateness of agricultural themes—some of them focused on animals without humans present—to Virgil's art.[68] The roles of animals in literature vary by genre: the place of livestock in Virgil's *Eclogues* is natural and expected given the themes and settings. In contrast to the pervasiveness of animals in epic (and Greek comedy, for that matter), Roman comedy employs animals sparingly.[69] The many and varied references to animals in hunting, the arena, or even dining contexts in Martial's epigrams demonstrate their usefulness to his programme, while the (proverbially) most Roman of genres, Satire, does not seem to have been afforded a general study on its animals.[70] Animals in tragedy seem to occupy similar roles to those in epic, with bird and winged imagery especially common.[71] Tragic animals serve to help the audience explore the objectification or bestialization of humans, the transgression of boundaries, the extremity ('animalization') of human emotions, and the 'human condition in moments of crisis or under the constraints of necessity'.[72] The impact of tragedy on

---

[65] See Cicero's joke about the complaints of his local leopard population, *Fam.* 2.11.2.
[66]The behaviour of herd animals, for example, and that of their leaders, is often described in terms perhaps better suited to human politics or warfare.
[67]Though likely his elite readers had countryside estates on which there were working farms or ranches.
[68]See Griffin's (1998) argument on the meaning of bee culture in Verg. *G.*4, esp. their inability to create art, as part of Virgil's meditation on the cost of empire, 165ff., esp. 166 and 170-1.
[69]Pütz (2014) 69.
[70]In Mart. *Ep.* 1.104; 1.109; 7.87; 12.48. Martial also describes the plights or antics of animals in the arena in several places in his *Spectacula,* while Fredericks (1976) describes Juvenal's employment of animals in Satire 15 to critique human nature.
[71]Thumiger (2014) 86-7. Thumiger's chapter focuses on Greek tragedy, but presumably there is overlap with Roman use of animals in the genre. She notes on 97 that Greek tragedy's animals provide a point of intersection with Homer.
[72]Thumiger (2014) 85-6, 89-91. She also remarks on the 'narratological' function of animals in tragedy, the effect of which she notes is stronger in tragedy than in epic, 93-4.

VF's poem in this vein will be explored in relevant contexts in the main chapters.

A few remarks on epic animals will suffice here: their place in the tradition in which VF writes, and the models he uses, will be given more specific articulation and comment in the study itself. Epic animals usually appear and behave relatively realistically, or at least according to readers' and hearers' expectations.[73] While the supernatural itself is common enough, a talking animal, for example, is rare—Xanthus being a prominent exception—and animals either walk, run, or fly; low, roar, or cry; move alone or in flocks or herds as is customary for their respective species. Realism is not, however, for educational purposes, as in the treatises mentioned above, nor for showcasing the marvellous through animals in themselves, the prerogative of Aelian. Rather, representations of animals and their behaviour tend to serve the purposes of the epic, especially in similes, where evoking imagination of real-life experience is essential to the comparison and to bringing the action before the mind's eye of the reader. This is clearest in those similes which feature the 'everyday', shepherds tending to their flocks (*Il*. 13.492-3), calves gathering around a mother cow (*Od*. 10.410-4), and the bustling productivity of bees (*Aen*. 1.430-6). In another mode, the behaviour of epic heroes in battle, likened to animals in similes, can be either exalted or deflated depending on the species or the attitude in which it is portrayed.[74] In the *Iliad*, images of cattle are reserved for those defeated heroes who are dying, while those of marauding lions are used for heroes on victorious (and angry) rampages, though a lion may also sometimes be depicted as routed or confused. In particular, the artistic possibilities of domesticated animals for Roman poets in epic had been explored before VF, and influential treatments can be seen in Virgil (such as the duelling bulls, a motif used in both the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*).

But animal activity is useful on the level of plot as well, and here, as in simile, there are patterns to passages and typed episodes. Animals' role as sacrificial victims is particularly relevant to epic, as their behaviour during the rite, so naturally ubiquitous in the genre, could portend the outcome of the human appeal, and signal the (perceived) disposition of the gods toward the human actors (e.g. *BC* 1.608-23); see the first section

[73] Expectations could of course be shaped both by human observations of nature, that is, by reality, and by widely-held beliefs about and misinterpretations of animal behaviour, Hawtree (2014) 77-9, 81. Representations are also shaped by previous depictions within the genre, and preservation of or innovation on animal types can be part of an epicist's self-positioning.

[74] Cf. for example the discussion in Ch. 2.a.i. below, on the disparate tones in the comparisons of Telamon and Jason to lions.

of Chapter 3 below.[75] The human reactions to the animals and their behaviour are also revealing, an opportunity for the author to showcase aspects of piety, reflection and thought processes (e.g. *Theb*. 3.456-9). While several animal depictions scattered throughout extant epic are likely based on Homeric templates—such as the behaviour of cattle in the herd, seen repeatedly in Homer, Virgil and VF—alterations in details of the templates, both in simile and in narrative episodes, show a sometimes subtle evolution of the portrayal and its intended effect, and the imprint of individual poets within what may at first appear a string of replicas. And those animals suddenly appearing in a work, apparently new to epic, such as tigers, represent a sort of 'intrusion' of Roman world developments into the epic tradition. In this way, epic animals demonstrate the preservation of a heritage, with allowance for innovation within certain parameters, as well as an openness to the outright novel.

It is interesting to note that, along with the increased variety of wild animals appearing in Roman epic, in the *Arg*. there is an increased tendency to include emotional elaboration and anthropomorphizing of even predator beasts, like lions and tigers.[76] Along with the great waste of animal life in Rome came a strange parallel development: the attribution of greater complexity of feeling and thought to animals in literary depictions, if not also in the visual arts. In the *Arg*., this is perhaps demonstrated most clearly in cases of animal similes connected with a hero's loss: the wild beasts particularly victimized in the games are often represented as vulnerable, even sympathetic. While animal suffering in the arena emphasized the gap between human and non-human, and the power of the former, animal suffering in VF's epic is humanely, feelingly portrayed. In such instances, the common ground between human and animal is not the human's potential degradation into animal, but the shared capacity of both to experience pain, especially of a type that runs deeper than the physical.

5. Methodology & Structure of Thesis

With this project I propose to contribute to Valerian scholarship, animal studies, and related fields, through detailed analysis of animals and their interactions with humans in the poem, including how they as agents or symbols function as part of VF's poetics, illustrate his relationship to his generic counterparts, further his epic programme, and

[75] An appearance of pacificity, more important in literature perhaps than in real life, on the part of the victim was essential to the 'success' of the sacrifice, just like the condition of the *exta* when studied by the haruspex just after the animal was killed, Scheid (2007) 265-6.

[76] See Ch. 2 below, and Hawtree (2011) 258, though it should be noted that a central concern in Roman epic depictions is realism, Hawtree (2014) 77-9.

reveal aspects of contemporary Roman thought about animals. A protracted discussion of VF's animals will in turn invite more consideration of animals in other epics, both pre- and post-Flavian, and again, act as a model for an interdisciplinary approach to animals in individual texts. Though intuitively the *Arg*. may not seem the work with which to begin a more thorough study of Roman epic animals, adopting it as a starting point is inspired by VF's particularly innovative use of animals standard to epic repertoire. As animals are as much a staple of the epic diet as the divine machinery, the original nature of VF's presentation naturally requires comparison to his predecessors', and in some cases, his descendants', treatment of the same species, or of individual animals which are part of certain mythological narratives and/or typology. The primary focus will be on natural animals rather than the mythical or divine: in particular, depictions of animals and their individual experiences and perspectives, their interactions with humans, and humans' perceptions of animals and the use they make of animals—in various ways—based on those perceptions.

I approach the text with two concepts at the fore: intertextuality and empathy. Whether and how VF's various animal depictions are unique, and how they function in his shaping of his Argonautic material, directs much of the intertextual inquiry. Intertextual relationships—the primary component in my methodology—in Valerian passages are not only to be sought and found in epic proper, but also in epyllion, tragedy, elegy and historiography. The second cornerstone of the study is animal subjectivity established through narratorial and other types of empathy, which is the central focus of Korhonen and Ruonakoski's recent work on animals in Greek literature. They ground their exploration of animals and empathy in discussion of phenomenology, embodiment, embodied perception, and the inherent and automatic relating between bodies in the presence of each other, the 'experience [of] a mutual subjectivity, a reciprocity of perception' (loc. 340).[77] The sense humans have of animals' (alien) participation in experience of and perspective on their 'environing worlds' (loc. 388) as presented in their work, I take as something to be established in VF, or rather, that VF's animals are to be 'empathized with'. I also adopt Korhonen and Ruonakoski's distinction between sympathy and empathy, the latter being an unconscious sensation (of admittedly varying degree) demanded by engagement with another living body, and not necessarily connoting a moral dimension.[78] This requisite empathy as part of

[77]Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017 Kindle edition) loc. 297-388.
[78]Korhonen and Ruonakoski, loc. 444-63.

interspecies engagement challenges the 'hypothesis of supposedly all-compassing anthropocentrism of Greek culture'.[79] The two-pronged leading focus, intertextual threads and animal subjectivity, will best elucidate the place of animals in VF with respect to epic, and as subjects to be related to by readers and by humans in the text.

Supplemental to this approach and at times essential for interpretation are the narratological aspects of animal representations. The dynamic of spectatorship features prominently in the discussion of animals due to the games culture in Rome, and because of the visual nature of epic itself and the emotional impact inherent in it, with spectatorship as a prominent aspect stretching back as far as Homer.[80] Just as with mortals and immortals, animals see and are seen in the *Arg*. with dramatic consequences, and the 'epic gaze' offers a useful theoretical background for discussing the impact and function of these interactions, human/animal, divine/animal, animal/animal.[81] Related is the narratological concept of focalization, by which distinction is drawn between the one 'who speaks', termed the 'voice' and the one 'who sees', the 'focalizer'.[82] In VF, animals' emotions and reactions are reported frequently, and often sympathetically. Rarer but significant are the instances in which they are the focalizers, including one example in which they (Ariasmenus' cavalry horses) are not only named as focalizers, but are even addressed as such through apostrophe by the narrator. Focalization also invites further consideration of subjectivity, the level of which in VF, arguably, fluctuates depending on the species involved. Here terms like 'animal focalization' and 'animal gaze' may be practical, with animals as subjects (and sometimes other animals as objects), to provide vocabulary for exploring the role of animals in directing the narrative, both at the level of story and of the narrator's discourse, which in turn shapes reader perception and influences interpretation.

The focus is very much literary, rather than biological or zoological, with discussion ranging across four main areas: the roles animals play as part of VF's epic project; how his portrayals are formed by or differ from previous depictions and uses in

---

[79]Korhonen and Ruonakoski, loc. 472

[80]See Hesk (2013), esp. 34-35, 47-9, 56, 58-9; and Strauss Clay (2007) 234-8, 243-6.

[81] Lovatt (2013) 3-5, 7-9, 11, on the gaze and vision; 10-3, 16, on the gaze as it relates to epic; 11-3, 15, 17 on 'cultures of viewing.' See also 5-6 on problems of genre, and 20-1 on the visuality of epic (and its similarity to cinema) and epic's innate invitation to the reader/listener to visualize.

[82] Fowler (1991) 28-9 (n.25 on Genette's coining of 'focalization') and (2000b) 41-5 for definitions and the distinction between the voice and focalizer (and between what Fowler terms 'deviant focalization', and 'free indirect discourse'). Shifts in focalization elicit interpretation, invite scrutiny about the technique and agenda of the narrator, and self-awareness on the part of the reader of the influence those shifts have on his or her reading. Cf. Bal's (1983) critique and suggested modifications of focalization, esp. 240-2.

the tradition; how animals' interactions with humans both impact on the interpretation of the epic at the level of episode and whole narrative; and the way in which those interactions potentially reflect VF's observations about animal-human dynamics in the real world as well as the mythic one.[83] Of course, the *Arg*.'s animals and their attributes cannot be separated from the textuality of their environment: their significance is especially rooted in their meaning within, as heirs of, and counterpoints to, the tradition in which they function. Animals are assumed to be generators of meaning of Valerius' poem, in itself, as an epic, and in episodes and vignettes. It is both their usefulness in efforts to interpret the *Arg*. as well as their distinctiveness as epic animals, which make up the bifocal lens through which the passages are read. The intertextual angle involves reading VF and his writing of animals through, out of, and back into the epic 'tradition', and also considering his various ways of interacting with other poets' animal passages. I take many of my reading cues from those who have worked specifically on VF, but also particularly from Hinds.[84]

Readers will note what is absent from this discussion perhaps as much as they will what is present. The study deals with animals which operate, for the most part, on the same natural plane as humans, that is, horses, birds, cattle, deer, big cats, and other fauna which are biologically normal and 'naturally' occurring. These are animals which the human characters can observe, meet and interact with in their world. The benefits of this focus are threefold: first, the class of natural animals, though in this case presented in myth, are composed of more references and more numerous standardised types (also with typed variants) across epic than mythical beasts, or animals which are agents of the gods and are often connotative of one or few stories and sets of characters. The depictions of natural animals thus import more of the tradition within a single reference, and there is more potential for generating meaning through interaction with and departure from predecessors through various layers of intertextuality, intergeneric dialogue, and so on. Second, and more importantly, VF reveals and exemplifies developments in thought particularly in the areas of animal subjectivity and perception, and these have the greatest value in representations of animals which reflect reality.

[83]Not biological or zoological: Nevertheless, VF's animals fall along a spectrum of representations, from those that have real-world referents to those that are purely fictional, e.g. the (mechanical) bulls built by Vulcan; such a distinction has its problems as one similar to that drawn in the 'semantic definition' of the difference between fact and fiction, described in Schaeffer (2013) 22-5 (along with the other definitions in fact/fiction theory [syntactic, 26-31; pragmatic, 32-9], and the relationship of narratology to the theory of fiction [9-10]). VF is as concerned with animals as they appear in his genre as he is with those he saw for himself; see n. 76 above.

[84]Hinds (1998). Also indispensable to reading VF in the context of his genre is Hardie (1993).

This is because these are animals with which humans might actually interact, and there are therefore practical implications of and applications for, in the real world, greater empathy and sympathy with animals. Finally, as the study is concerned with VF's exploration of animal-human dynamics and its potential implications, interactions which reflect those in the real world (and which therefore exclude the Promethean Vulture, for example) are perhaps more informative about VF's cultural context.

There are of course a few important exceptions. Cyzicus' treatment of Cybele's lion, for example, is discussed as it shows a supernaturally associated animal taken for a natural specimen by a human. The analysis here is concerned with human misperception of the animal and its consequences. Of course, conspicuously absent are mythological creatures (many with animal parts) and monsters, and Vulcan's fire-breathing bulls. Further analysis of these and other animals associated with the divine (Bacchus' tigers, Mars' serpent) may be done in an expansion of this study, as such animals and creatures are essential in interpreting, for example, the implications of VF's structuring and use of a somewhat sinister divine machinery for the Flavian (and his own) outlook on the relationship between Rome and its gods.[85] Appendix C. comprises the indices at the end of the thesis which include all references in the *Arg.* to non-humans and non-anthropomorphic beings, and even to animal attributes and accoutrements. These indices are three versions of a catalogue of animal references, listed first in order of appearance in the text, then by 'animal' type, and finally by context. While monsters and mythical beasts are not included in the discussion, the approach to reading natural animals, the paradigms outlined, and the conclusions drawn in this study can be applied in an analysis of the function of other epic non-human creatures, and their relationships to the human and divine, in the *Arg.* and beyond. The thesis as it stands nevertheless provides both a thorough, multi-species overview of animals and their interactions with humans in the epic, and a series of in-depth case studies. Together these yield relevant insights across disciplines, with implications across a spectrum ranging from the interpretation of VF to the ethical assessment of modern animal-human relationships, and constitute both model and method for further analysis.

a. Animal Subjectivity in Simile

Because VF seems to use certain sets of animal types and interactions to illustrate

[85]On which see for example Manuwald (2009); Bernstein (2014); Feeney (1991) 313ff.

different truths, and develops them to varying lengths, with different kinds of imagery, and at different levels (ekphrases of animals are operating differently from those appearing in the action, for example), this project is organized according to theme rather than by species or chronology of the narrative. Animals are most numerous and very prominent in simile, and it is in simile where VF focuses on the animal's experience of its world, often completely separate from humans, and allows for a sustained tracing of animal subjectivity. Furthermore, where certain species are heavily typed across the genre (or not), VF's similes readily reveal the influence of other authors on VF or his departure there from. Due to their conspicuous nature as figures, similes also contain and suggest connections to one another in both content and immediate and thematic significance. The first two chapters (Part I) focus on the animal world and animal perception, for the most part in isolation from human contact, and discuss sets of similes based on the themes VF develops through them: in one chapter, defining animal life, and in the other, aspects of epic humanity illustrated and defined through animal life.

Animal subjectivity as an emphasis of research has been developed in the fields of animal studies and posthumanism, and as already indicated has been explored to varying degrees in Classics. In classical literature, of course, and especially in VF and his predecessors, subjectivity of animals is often subtle, implied rather than overt, and in simile is suggested not through elaboration on animal perception or perspective as such, but through parallels and comparisons drawn between humans and animals. In other words, what is assumed is not animal subjectivity or experience per se, but rather that animals are like, and feel like, humans. Admittedly, anthropomorphizing of animals in this fashion does not necessarily invite sharing the perspective of an animal on its own terms, and is casually anthropocentric. Yet even this imagined affinity requires some presupposition of subjectivity, however unexamined. Furthermore, consideration of animal experience and subjectivity must begin somewhere, and extrapolating from known human experience in trying to explain animal behaviour and 'understand' animals based on suppositions of what different species have in common seems a natural place to start. At the same time, the vocabulary developed by those working within animal studies proves valuable in moving analysis of animal depictions in classical texts beyond anthropomorphism.

Anthropomorphism of animals itself is perhaps a latent potential (if not a necessity given the implication of comparison) inherent in simile from as early as Homer. While from the beginning similar experiences and behaviour across species boundaries is

adduced, before VF's time, development within the genre (in simile and otherwise) had entertained a reassessment of the boundaries and relationships between animals and humans. This reassessment will be especially clear in the discussion in Part I, albeit in different ways, in Virgil and Ovid. Insight into animal subjectivity in ancient epic arguably begins with not only allowing a similarity of behaviour, physical action and emotional expression amongst humans and animals, but even more, suggesting a shared perception—or perceptiveness—across species boundaries, again through anthropomorphic portrayals of the animals and their experience (e.g., the culture and societal organization of bees in *Georgics* 4). VF's portrayal of animals is perhaps the next step in a progressive stream of anthropomorphizing imagery evident in earlier Latin epics. Consideration of animal sentience is already a feature in Lucretius, and is taken markedly further by Virgil in the *Georgics*, which animal imagery in turn provides a great deal of simile material for the *Aeneid.* The relationship between the two works in their representations of animal perspective will be particularly relevant in Chapter 1.[86] Ovid's exploration in epic of the shared experience of humans and non-humans is slightly different, even in similes, since human and animal forms, bodies and distinctives merge and mesh as part of the *Metamorphoses*' central preoccupation with identity.[87] Nevertheless, as will be seen, Ovid's representations of animals, particularly in narrative, do shape later authors' animal similes, including VF's. Lucan too explores new aspects of animal representation in simile, though his animals often seem less anthropomorphized than those found in Virgil and in VF. Rather, the focus of his similes is often on action, not feeling, and the moral confusion of the narrative seems to destabilize even the animal representations used to illuminate the ambiguous human characters.[88] VF goes further than his epicist predecessors in his similes, developing animal perception and emotion to a greater degree therein. This influences both the reading of the portrayal of animals, and the role animals play in VF's poetics, in the immediate narrative passages in which the similes are deployed and throughout the epic as a whole.

While the similes' respective functions within the immediate narrative and across the work will be discussed, the main goal of the reading and analysis is to discover what

[86]Virgil's animal similes tend to explore more deeply the animal experience than those of Homer; see Briggs (1980) 11-2. See also n.95 below.
[87]Von Glinski (2012) 4-5, 7-8, 11-12 and *passim*.
[88]As will be shown below, VF is clearly influenced by and invoking animal similes in Lucan, which is noteworthy because animal parallels (to VF's similes) in Lucan are relatively sparse. On Lucan's similes see Thomas (2010) and Rosner-Siegel (2010); Aymard (1951) observed that nearly all simile images go unrepeated in Lucan, cited in Grimal (1953) 212.

VF is 'doing' with his own representations of the animals themselves, within their own worlds in particular (birds and horses), and if applicable, across those similes which are especially patterned (lions) or which resist some epic patterning by representing a progression in imagery (cattle). Chapter 1 features animals on their own terms and on their own planes in simile, behaving independently of human interaction and across unique contexts, and sometimes across species lines (e.g., halcyon, crane). There is one passage that constitutes an exception to the classification of simile, found in the horse section, but as the reference is short and an example of one the most typed of animal references, namely, animal attendants at an epic funeral, it is taken as an essential counterpart to the single Valerian horse simile. These two passages complement each other in VF's treatment of typed horse behaviour, and as will be shown, are justifiably considered together to determine the effect of the Valerian versions of the two horse *topoi* and how they illustrate the experience of horses in a human context through intertextual negotiation. Chapter 2 will explore patterned similes and the role they play in constructing animal societies and their corresponding function in the human narrative. Possible inferences that can be drawn from Valerian anthropomorphic portrayals about the developing sensitivity toward animals in literature will be noted briefly in the conclusion to the second chapter, while ethical implications will be discussed in Part II.

The similes included have been selected with consideration of thematic concerns, as well as of the characters to whom the similes are applied: namely, their importance to the plot as well as their connections to one another. For example, a group of similes involving one type of animal doing similar things, but applied to different heroes, may be argued to emphasize characteristics of the animal hitherto un-utilized by previous authors, or put to novel use in the *Arg*. Also, there could be reflexive interaction between the human subject of the simile and the featured animal, where the hero or human helps to fill out the portrayal of the animal and vice versa. Finally, intertextual dynamics are perhaps most easy to recognize, and traditional allusions most clear to parse and interpret (even through multiple layers of meaning), in similes, as compared to other epic *topoi* and phenomena. These groupings are to be taken as neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. The passages chosen were those which are most emotionally proximal, descriptive and evocative—which suggest animal perspective and elicit readers' empathy. Of course, as these selected passages are paradigmatic, extrapolations for reading the remaining references to the same or similar species, or different species

in similar contexts, and the references cited in the indices can be approached with these paradigms as a starting point.

Though selection and sorting of simile passages for this project was not based on animal type as such, it will become clear that VF prefers certain animals and their environments for exploration of animal emotion and perception (birds), or for their relationships to one another (cattle). His treatment of animals in such cases shows his own originality, and an in-depth look at animals in his work allows other, broader questions about the *Arg*. to be addressed from this angle, such as questions about intertextuality (especially in plot and character development) and intergeneric discourse (especially on the status of animals in relation to the human), and the contribution of VF's text to the modern investigation of the Flavian political and cultural context. Practically speaking, his depictions also invite prolonged focus on his animals as living individuals with compelling implications for reading animal (and human) subjectivity, psychology, empathy, ethics, perception, and suffering. In addition to these elements, his animal depictions play an important role in the overall interpretation of the text, demanding to be read as keys to the *Arg*.'s interaction with typical epic themes, such as glory, identity, and heroism, as well as more internal subjective components of human experience, such as devotion, trust, empowerment and imagination. Of course, the experience of animals within their own contexts—those created for the 'story level' of the simile—cannot be separated entirely from the human. A human is writing both the narrative and the simile, and the similes themselves are required by and meaningful for the anthropocentric action of the external narrative. But VF's approach grants a dignity and attention to animals in their own right even as they are used to illustrate the human condition. Indeed, his animal simile portrayals suggest a shared condition.

b. Defining & Delineating Animal-Human Dynamics

The two chapters of Part II mark a departure from the focus on animals in simile in Part I. Part II, in contrast, turns to animal-human dynamics, beginning aspects of animal-human relationships and interactions, and then of human characters' representations of animals and their relationships with them. We will chart animal-human dynamics by first looking at animals and humans in action simultaneously (not necessarily 'together') in Chapter 3, and the implications for the reading of the whole epic, and of VF's reception of his predecessors' assertions about animal-human interactions and shared experience. These interactions will be approached with animal subjectivity

established as a foundation in the first two chapters, though method will diverge here due to the difference in the types of passages, whether narrative or simile. For here, animal and human realms collide, and the different species shape the experiences of one another. It is in these passages that VF may offer the clearest comment on animal-human dynamics in his own context, and where his Roman experience may most influence his animal depictions.

The animals here are of course operating on a different level from those in Part I: most of the animals in Chapter 3 act within the epic narrative, and are in close contact with humans. The activities which bring the animals and humans into contact with each other, such as sacrifice, hunting, and war, compel a comparison to Roman iterations of those activities, and VF's representation of these activities in the epic may reveal his or others' perceptions of the interspecies dynamics in those contexts in real life. In sum, the majority of the animals' experiences is dictated by their position(ing) within environments dominated or entered by humans. Their experience is sometimes part and parcel of a close relationship they have with humans, while at other times interactions with humans are triggered by human intrusion into the animal realm. The pleasure animals derive from and the price they pay for participating in human society are sometimes at the fore of the *Arg.*'s most challenging passages, especially those which suggest an indictment of war and violence. Despite their roles perhaps being privileged, from the human perspective, relationships, even friendships, between humans and animals are not presented without problems, and of course are complicated by animal-human dynamics of a different nature elsewhere in the text.

Passages discussed in Chapter 3 were chosen based on naturalism of the interaction between animal in human, and the potential for exposure and illumination of both the animal experience and the impact, unilateral and mutual, on the interspecies participants. Featured animals include sacrificial victims, wild quarry, and domesticates in combat. Similar to the phenomenological approach described earlier, and some of its assumptions which I take for granted, these texts focus on the experience of the animal, articulated or implied, and the study will draw out animal subjectivity and the shaping effect of animal-human contact as much as possible. This again, however, is directed by intertextual comparisons to determine what VF is doing relative to his counterpart authors. The selected passages do reflect varying degrees of proximity and intimacy, and empathetic and ethical implications, and all allow for extrapolation to similar passages in epic. Perhaps more importantly, the results of the analysis of these various

meetings demand application to real-world animal-human interactions, especially in the cases of companion or working animal species, and animals for which the interaction involves the animals' deaths (those which are either farmed or hunted).

The final Chapter, 4, will take a further step back from the animal, focusing primarily on the human perception and appropriation of the animal, and how humans make use of the meanings they attach to animals. The animals here function differently yet again, for they neither behave in their own realms nor interact with humans; instead, the animals here are either dead, or pictured in various media, often 'shown' to the reader through ekphrases. As body parts (skins) and images, animals are appropriated for use by humans as or on personal objects, their evocative 'absence' illustrating human perception of those animals and the meanings humans attach to them for their own purposes. This typically involves the adaptation of animals as symbols, symbols which pre-exist in the humans' cultural context but are then tailored to the needs of the individual.

As in the real world and in epic generally, animal-human dynamics are reflected in Argonautic humans' use of animals as and part of commodities, with their perceptions of and associations with animals made clear in visual media. These animals feature prominently in what may be termed a context of visual exchange, or a network of communication via personal objects, especially on arms and textiles, and as garments consisting of animal skins.[89] Such communication is concerned with, among other things, humans' pictorial declarations on personal objects of their own identities, origins, status, accomplishments, prowess, relationships, and indeed stories. Makers of the visual media often adapt components from a selection of common images and symbols (including myth narratives) to create and claim unique imagery with unique significance, derived from widely recognized meanings basic to the components (with respect to animals, lions, boars and bulls connote strength and ferocity, for example), and sometimes combined with representations of events or things especially associated with the owner (e.g., see the discussion of Phalerus in Ch. 4.b.i. below).

In turn, the network itself includes a number of human participants engaging at various levels.[90] These may be the craftsman or -woman who creates the object; the object's commissioner; the owners within the context of the epic, whose identity may

[89]The term 'network' here is used in a very general sense, meaning the connections between various parties involved in acts or events of communication, and by extension, their relationships to one another as defined by the interactions within the network.

[90]The gods participate in this network as well, though this chapter will focus on the animal-human dynamic.

change over the course of the narrative; to a lesser extent, previous owners invoked in a detailed genealogy (or biography) of the object; the hunter/killer, if the object is an animal body part; and finally the audience, the viewers of the object, among whom are the owner's peers; opponents on the battlefield; the epic world's 'public' more generally; and of course the readers of the text, whose 'reading' of the object is informed differently from that of the epic's characters and is more overtly directed by the narrator.[91] As will be seen, animals too can participate in the network, though to what extent, if at all, depends on the object, and the mode in which animals appear, whether as products made from their bodies after death or as engraved or woven images on an artefact.

Different levels of participation in the network of communication have an analogy in the variation of function of the objects within the network. Not only do objects vary in material and origin, but they also vary, for example, in use, context of use, and proximity, both physical and sentimental, to the owner and/or to members of the viewing audience. Their 'use', it must be noted, comprises two functions: practical and communicative. The way in which the animal is featured also denotes the extent of human appropriation of the animal, whether of its body, or merely of its imagined, materially rendered likeness. Of course, the meaning associated with and invoked in each appropriation also depends upon the owner, context, and viewer, and whether there is a shared and consistent paradigm for interpreting animal products and imagery. If a particular paradigm is not shared by all participants, communication via the animal, especially as symbol, breaks down, and in some cases in the *Arg*., dire consequences follow.[92]

This chapter highlights a key aspect of the pervasive presence of animals in human culture even when not living bodies, particularly in what and how humans communicate. Because animals cannot communicate their perspective on their human cohabitants, it may at first strike the reader that to focus on human interpretation and appropriation of animals merely furthers anthropocentric myopism. Yet as will become

[91]See Grethlein (2008) on the 'biography of things' in Homeric epic, 35-43.
[92]The necessity of common understanding for successful interpretation of objects or the images on them is highlighted elsewhere in epic, especially where failure of interpretation occurs, for example in Turnus' 'reading' of the killing of their bridegrooms by the Danaidae on Pallas' *balteus*, Hornsby (1966) 352-3. Use of symbols from a heraldic system of imagery not only requires recognition, but can also be regulated as it was in medieval Britian, Wollastan (1933) 575-7. Of course, medieval heraldry was more systematic than the visual network of epic, but regulation (primarily for preserving the prerogative of the king) had the effect of ensuring recognition via cataloguing arms created and bestowed, and by naming and limiting the use and combinations of different symbols.

clear, VF does suggest an alternate perspective (though it may not be 'animal') on commodification of the animal. And importantly, these texts of commodification show humans enacting, fashioning, and 'imprinting' their internalization, even personalization, of animals, their attributes, and their significance to humans. At the same time, both the presence and behaviour of animals demonstrably influence humans and culture—including the writing of mythical epic. The passages selected for consideration of this phenomenon are those which again reveal Valerian animal significance within intertextual and metapoetic dialogue (such as the Nemean lion's skin), the consequences of human attitudes toward animals (heroes in other animal skins), and the meaning of animals in human identity, shown to be shaped by interactions with animals and representations and even by rehearsals of those interactions (predominantly in ekphrases).

The various levels, participants, and effects of human mobilization of animals-as-symbols will be further developed in Chapter 4. There are however very clear inferences that can be drawn from the sample passages at the outset. These are that, first, at least in the *Arg*., men and women relate to and appropriate animal imagery in different ways, with different consequences and implications. Second, that the species hierarchy apparently implied and reinforced by the appropriation of animal bodies is far from secure in VF's portrayals. There are hints that even after death, mere animal parts can signify the power and compelling nature of the animal itself, and the inescapable subjectivity shared by animal and human.

c. Ordering of Material

The four chapters constitute a progression, first from exploration of individual glimpses of animal subjectivity, to patterned illustration of identity and social and communal dynamics in the animal world. In Part II, the readings of animal subjectivity and identity are brought to bear on the interpretation of animal-human interactions, and of the human response to the animal in appropriation and use of animals in and as media. The inverted pyramid structure of the thesis allows for expanding outwards from a narrowly focused beginning, treating the initial observations and arguments as assumptions throughout. A close look at animals in similes in their own contexts first asserts and defines animal experience and subjectivity through empathy, which then makes up the backdrop of the analysis of human-animal interactions, and finally the evidence for the human perception and experience of those interactions. The effect is to

emphasize throughout VF's argument for animal subjectivity, and then whether and how it is recognized or ignored by humans. As an assumed foundation, it also compels consideration of whether that recognition is adequate or significant in terms of humans' treatment of or thought about animals. In addition, it presses for consideration of the moral status of humans' attitude towards animals—especially when apparently ignoring animal subjectivity—through the narrator's diction when describing human attitudes and actions, and their consequences.

These animal representations—those by the narrator at various levels and those of the epic's characters—offer profound insights into the epic's place within the tradition, as well as into the Roman world in which VF was writing. And again, these representations show the development of Roman writers' depictions of animals, animal experience and perception, especially when representing aspects of animals which indicate what they have in common with humans. In sum, the passages chosen for analysis most clearly reflect the overlap in the 'real' world—and in epic—of the animal and human planes. Animal passages may prove to be defining aspects of epic, both traditional and new: animals in unprecedented, refined, and more developed states and contexts are part of VF's epic programme for a new age. His Rome, socially and politically, was in flux, and so, it seems, was epic. His animals provide a means of exploring and defining that flux, and VF's negotiation of it and his position relative to the tradition in which he works.

Beyond the literary tradition and aspects—intertexts, Valerian-specific themes, narratology—animals and their interactions with humans in VF compel consideration from a moral perspective. The interdisciplinary approach which imports concepts from animal studies and posthumanism, especially consideration of animal subjectivity, and VF's depictions of animal-human interactions, in turn raise the questions of animal welfare and human responsibility toward other species. The result is thus a reading of VF's text that takes into account the dynamic way animals shape the narrative and the humans in it, and how animals in the real world shape humans and their experience and vice versa. The study of animals on the one hand will further understanding of the *Arg*. On the other, the *Arg*.'s animals reveal an ancient perspective on how animals and humans stand in relation to each other, on literary terms and ethical ones. As will be seen, animal-human dynamics in VF's epic have implications for how animal-human interactions and relationships are assessed today, as animals continue to play significant roles in society, and as individual animals, especially pets and working animals,

continue to shape our experience and indeed our lives. The research and results will illuminate, but they will also challenge.

PART I: ANIMALS in SIMILE.

Chapter 1. Cross-Species Reflexivity I: Empathy and the Animal Experience

> 'This time, however, the animal made contact with me. I had looked into [the fox's] eyes, and I knew that it was looking at me, and that it knew that I knew...
> ...In the experience of the wolf's eyes, [the human] Leopold understands what its life is for itself, as a creature at the center of its own web of belongings and its attendant concerns.'
> -Mark Payne, *The Animal Part.*[93]

The first two of the above three sentences describe author Mark Payne's encounter with a fox while out hunting. Their eyes meet, and Payne declares that this 'contact' so deeply affects him that he cannot pull the trigger. In the second half of the text, Payne comments on fellow author Aldo Leopold's similarly profound experience. Once as a young park ranger, he shot and killed a she-wolf, but had seen in her eyes a 'fierce green fire' which died along with her. His observation of and regret over his extinguishing of that fire, as in Payne's encounter with the fox, opens up a new world of perceiving animal subjectivity and empathetic relating to the animal.

Setting the stage for the study of animals throughout the following chapters of this thesis, this opening chapter establishes and explores animal subjectivity in Valerian animal depictions which are particularly highly individualised and empathetic. Similes will provide the foundational material for portrayals of animal experience independent of human interaction. The study begins with analysis of a number of simile animals on multiple levels: how they function in the miniature world(s) of simile, and then how the animal representations help to determine the relationship of the individual similes to the narrative and their function in the text. In the discussion of each simile in this chapter, the directing questions will be: first, why has VF chosen the particular animal in its particular context?; second, what may the animal connote on a first reading due to preceding instances of the animal in literature (though tracing of the animal through intertexts will not be exhaustive)?; how does the portrayal of the animal relate to and parallel the human action and experience in the larger story?; fourth, how does VF develop the simile animal and its experience in innovative and empathetically evocative ways, including use of anthropomorphism, and what are the implications for reading animals and animal subjectivity?; finally, and most importantly, how is the empathetic attribution of an experience to both human and animal reflexive, revealing the animal itself and not, as might be supposed from an anthropocentric reading of simile, merely

[93]Payne (2010) 3.

the human?

Some sets of similes are better suited to exploration of certain of the above aspects, namely the relationship between the simile and its immediate surrounding text, and/or that between series of similes and the epic as whole, while some are more illuminating for another. Each bird simile event, for example, demonstrates a different aspect of bird experience which is immediately relevant to and explanatory for the human event it mirrors. Along with a close reading of the animal similes and their levels of interaction with, reflection of, and elaboration on the human subject of comparison, each case study will be contextualized through articulation of its generic and intertextual heritage. Finally, an in-depth analysis of the animal comparand(s) will bring all these components together to demonstrate how the animal(s) used to explore the experience of the human elicits empathy in itself, for itself, and is further characterized as a perceptive individual —mirrored in the human's recognition described in this chapter's epigraph—through its own experience. This will lay the groundwork for the following chapters' focus on the relationship between animal and human in the epic and in VF's real-world context and beyond, and will provide additional data for current discussions of the existence and nature of a divide between humans and animals in perception, individuality, and subjectivity.

The bird similes in Part a. present focused narratives about birds in their world, beholden to nature and responding to several different challenges, each viewed from an empathetic angle. The single horse simile and typed horse in a funeral scene in Part b. of this chapter are likewise focused on the animal in a unique context. The horse, however, is not wild and at large in the natural world, but does behave naturally, in the moment of action not directly under human influence. While the birds exist in their environment apart from humans, the horse's experience with humans has clearly shaped its responses, behaviour, and even its 'thought life'. All the similes here, though they have empathy in common, feature different species in different contexts which elicit from them different behaviour. For this reason, empathy is the main link, and prominent similes which have more in common with each, resulting in quite different programmatic significance, are reserved for the next chapter.

Though both animal types reveal VF's interaction with models and parallel traditional imagery, VF does associate each with distinct behaviour. Birds repeatedly demonstrate strong emotional capacity as they react to their environment, and not necessarily chaotically. Rather, their actions and reactions are sometimes shaped by

what appears to be an ability to resist emotions or internally negotiate a conflict of instincts. At other times, their behaviour is significantly influenced by relationships with family and flock. They act, follow, work together, and make decisions, responding to events and necessity. The emotional disposition of horses, in contrast, described in a couple of contexts below, is without immediate relational provocation. That is, they respond to stimuli that are more abstract, demonstrate a subjectivity that is more complex, and can perhaps be termed more anthropomorphic, than is seen in the cases of birds (or indeed of other species). Horses also respond to impersonal/non-animal cues in their environment, one shaped by humans in a way the birds' world is not. Yet the topic of Section b. is not concerned with equine-human relationships as such, but rather in how proximity to humans shapes horses' emotional development and display, as depicted by VF.

As is the case in *De Rerum Natura* (*DRN*), the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, illustration and development of animal emotions or dispositions, whether they are directly asserted by VF, or to be inferred from the animals' behaviour, often tends to anthropomorphize the animals' actions and responses, no matter the species.[94] What Virgil did with animals in terms of sympathy and empathy has been termed unique. VF's perspective on animals is also innovative, featuring even more pervasive and varying levels of subjectivity. Indeed, a significant consequence of VF's representations is that animals' emotions themselves signify independently from the human, and then are used to elaborate on the human emotional experience, characterizing the animals *qua* non-humans which nevertheless feel as humans do.[95] While similes serve the purpose of the external, human, narrative, this does not prevent the author from communicating something about the animal itself; in fact, he must, else the simile would have no emotional impact. Like Eidyia in the General Introduction, in several of VF's similes there is an attempt to see through animals' eyes, and to imagine living their experience.

a. Bird Similes: Rationality & Life-cycles

In the *Arg.* there are no 'natural' birds of note participating in the action, and so glimpses of their experience are found beyond the narrative level, mostly in simile, which along with omens are the most common contexts for birds in epic. And so, the

[94]See Introduction for anthropomorphism as a consequence of anthropocentrism, pp.36-8.
[95]Briggs (1980) 31-2 argues for this as a feature already found in Virgil, even that Virgil's 'delicate humanization' extends to plants as well as animals, 94. Gale makes clear the influence of Lucretius on anthropomorphism of animals in especially the *Geo.*, (2000) 103-5; (1991) 417-8 and 422.

three similes examined here represent a large proportion of bird experience in the epic. From Homer onward, many aspects of bird behaviour, from the sounds of their cries to the patterns of their flocking, make them useful in simile for illustrating the movement of human troops on the field, or the vocal expression of individuals in moments of deep pathos, and not just in epic. Birds appear frequently in tragic similes, where among animals they are especially common, as an expressive species ideal for 'animalizing' human emotion.[96] The potential for communicating experience through birds and their behaviour is realized even more frequently in *Metamorphoses,* wherein so many of the transformations of human into bird are catalogued, while that epic's erotic pursuits are in many places likened to the attack of raptors against smaller birds. The apparent social and emotional parallels between birds and humans—as animals vulnerable to both attack and loneliness—naturally find their place in elegy as well, and in Ovid's exile poetry. Observation of a wide variety of type- or even species-specific behaviour makes birds useful for illustrating equally varied human behaviour and relationships, familial, inimical, and martial. Finally, aspects of bird 'culture', such as their lifespan and stages of development, mode of communication, their interaction with each other, either same- or cross-species, and with humans, as they can be tame or wild, provide an abundance of imagery options for simile. VF's birds thus have an extremely rich inter-generic heritage, and given that they are already associated with human emotional expression, there is plenty of traditional material to serve as a starting point from which to move in the reverse direction to the course of simile, as it points to humans, by exploring the birds' perspective.

Bird images in simile, in addition to the usual function of characterizing humans in the outside text, offer possible templates for interpretation of the epic's presentation of themes like love and war. In spite of the complexity of literary bird life and culture, bird experience is nevertheless often portrayed in only a few distinct contexts in epic, often in predator/prey omens or flocking similes as parallels for mass troop movement in war. Aggression is a theme suggested in both contexts, though whether that is inherent in flocks is questionable, for the human level is where the aggression is present. Nevertheless, in Homer such images do elicit empathy, but are very much focused on the points of analogy in action and behaviour, not on the animal's feelings or perceptions as such. Interacting with both ideas and images present in epic especially

[96]Thumiger (2014) 86-7, 89-90, on illustration of emotion and character; 92, 94, on the role of birds in prophecy.

from Virgil onward, and for these case studies, from Ovid and Lucan in particular, VF develops and emphasizes the birds' emotional reactions to disturbing or traumatic circumstances. These elaborations and developments suggest parallels between birds—and animals in general—and humans which go beyond the level of the action and even immediate emotion. After, and perhaps with the influence of, the intervening epics of VF's predecessors, VF's birds are permitted experiences of their danger or community, and with their own perspectives.[97] Their lives receive more description with greater nuance: they get stories of their own. The following three similes studied are ordered thematically, moving from a focus on individual, to family, to flock, in an effort to aid application of principles of close reading of the animal experience. These are only half of the developed bird similes in *Arg*., but together they evoke a response to that experience and inform insight into human empathy with the animal.[98]

i. The Halcyon: Distress & Decision

One important feature of VF's reinforcement of the aspect of reflexivity is the internal demonstration and elaboration of the nature of the relationship(s) between the animals in the simile, often interesting and significant in itself, apart from the epic narrative. In the halcyon simile, a case centred on the individual, the bird's story is informed by a human story, before it informs the human level of the Argonautic narrative for which it functions as a simile. The multiple interactions and layers of story elevates the animal experience to the level of personal struggle and relational depth of the two human myths which motivate or inspire it.

Curiously here, a *mother* bird is the comparand to Hercules in his grief over the lost Hylas during the *Argo*'s stop at Mysia. Juno, intent on both causing injury to Hercules and sundering him from the rest of the Minyae, has devised a plan to lure away his young companion and 'foster son' (as opposed to lover, as in AR), Hylas. The youth is snatched by a nymph after chasing a deer through the forest, events having been prearranged by Juno herself (3.545-64). Hercules rages through the landscape of Mysia upon learning that Hylas has disappeared without a trace (3.581-97). Soon afterwards, the Argonauts abandon him (3.715-25). As night falls, Jupiter puts Hercules into a deep sleep, in which the shade of Hylas appears, to tell Hercules what has become of himself,

[97]AR was the first extant epicist to use animal similes (which evidence 'psychological development' in simile) to explore emotions other than fear or rage, Briggs (1980) 12.
[98]See the full list of bird similes in Appendix C. One further simile (6.260-4) is discussed in 3.a.ii., while two more, also connected with Medea (6.503-6; 8.32-5), dealing primarily with fear, are interesting more for other details than for the experience of the birds.

that the Minyae have departed, and to exhort him to further heroic deeds (4.1-37). In his sleep Hercules tries to embrace Hylas, but of course cannot grasp the intangible and departing *umbra*.[99] He cries out and tries to follow:

> fluctus ab undisoni ceu forte crepidine saxi
> cum rapit halcyonis miserae fetumque laremque, 45
> it super aegra parens queritur<que> tumentibus undis
> certa sequi quocumque ferant audetque pavetque,
> icta fatiscit aquis donec domus haustaque fluctu est;
> illa dolens vocem dedit et se sustulit alis:
> aut aliter somni maestus labor. 50
>
> as when, by chance, the billow, from the wave-sounding mole of rock,
> snatches the young and home of the halcyon; 45
> the parent, distressed, with the waves swelling, goes [after] and makes a plaintive cry,
> intent to follow wherever they carry them, she both dares and fears,
> until struck by the waters the [nest] breaks apart and is overwhelmed by the flood;
> grieved she cries out, and raises herself up with her wings:
> not otherwise was the sorrowful toil of [Hercules'] dream. [4.44-50a][100]

By now, Hercules has learned what happened to Hylas, and his dismay at the fading of Hylas' shade is described with the image of the mother bird. In a sense, the simile suggests that this is the realization of the loss of Hylas from Hercules' point of view, as he now knows the cause of the young man's disappearance, and at the same time understands his own position. The experience of the halcyon is however quite different from the man's: her position is one of witness to the destruction of her real, biological young, which she is powerless to save.[101] Hercules is compared to the female of an animal species, in a situation apparently, perhaps only superficially, paralleling his own.

[99]Models go all the way back to the visitation of Achilles by Patroclus in Hom. *Il.* 23, echoed in Odysseus' meeting with his mother in Hom. *Od*. 11, Aeneas' with Creusa at Verg. *Aen*. 2.792-4, and important for the discussion below, Ov. *Met.* 11.650-73.

[100]The event as described here is very similar to that found in Aesop's Fable 28 (Temple et al. [1998])

[101]Hercules, as a son of Jupiter and destined for apotheosis, does not stand so firmly on the human side of the animal-human divide. He is nevertheless arguably being called back into an epic role from an elegaic one (that in which Hylas is now permanently trapped).

Hercules is not Hylas' parent, and the animal's physical size and vulnerability does not suggest a parallel (in contrast with a lion/ess, for example; see 1.a.ii. below) with the hero. But as will become clear, it is the specificity, the choice of species, that makes the comparison relevant.

The halcyon was already a bird with an ancient tradition of behaviour attributed to it, notably familial loyalty, steadfastness in nesting and rearing chicks, and lament for lost family members, a tradition to which VF's choice of species is no doubt owed. In the story of the simile, the halcyon mother's inner battle between the drive to rescue her chicks, emphasized with *certa*, usually reserved for humans, and her instinct for self-preservation (4.47), echoes the rolling back-and-forth of the waves, as both she and her chicks are battered by the flood. The combination of vowels and repetition of groups of consonants throughout drive the passage and emulate the rush of the water and the halcyon's wings. This is especially effective in line 45, *fetumque laremque,* which coordinates with *audetque pavetque* in 47, as well as with the line in which the nest is shattered, and the chicks overwhelmed and drowned: *icta fatiscit aquis donec domus haustaque fluctu est.* The halcyon is determined to act, pursue and rescue her family. Yet before her eyes and in spite of her courage, the water thwarts her. She must give up, her recognition of the futility of pursuit clear in her simultaneous acts of lament and resignation: *illa dolens vocem dedit et se sustulit alis*.

As noted above, *certa* is rarely applied to animals, and some others of VF's word choices here suggest an even closer alignment with human domestic experience: the use of *lar* in 45, as opposed to *penates*, combined with the use of *domus*, not necessarily unusual, but perhaps a subtle suggestion of focalization.[102] The word for 'nest', *nidus,* is not used at all, though it appears in the simile discussed next.[103] In addition, the pairing of the gender-neutral *parens* with *fetus* allows for a stronger association of the halcyon with *pater* Hercules (4.25). VF's blending of bird motifs from his precursors, explained below, further serves to mirror the complicated relationship between Hercules and Hylas, and suffuses an epic event with multi-generic significance.[104]

The matter of generically evocative imagery can be first addressed with a glance at birds in drama. Three parallel similes from tragedy each share one of the two main

[102]See Introduction, pp. 40-1, nn. 81 and 82, and 3.b.i. and 4.b.-c. below for further discussion of focalization.
[103]On the emotional dimension of the passage's vocabulary, see Murgatroyd (2009) 50-1, 51-2, Spaltenstein (2004a) 217; for the most thorough discussion of the simile and its structural function, see Gärtner (1994) 126-9, esp.127-8.
[104]Complicated relationship: see Hershkowitz (1998b) 150-1, Garson (1963) 261-2.

components in VF's passage: the grief of a mother bird over the loss of her chicks, in Sophocles' *Antigone* (an unnamed species, 422-8); and the lament of the halcyon for Ceyx on the shore, described briefly in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Tauris* (1089-95), but rather extensively in Seneca's *Agamemnon* (680b-85).[105] VF's mourning mother is a coastal-dwelling halcyon, whose object of lament is transformed from her spouse into her lost chicks. In addition, she actually witnesses their deaths, unlike the mother in *Ant*. 422ff. VF's bird evokes for the reader the troped parental devotion seen in Seneca's passage, wherein the halcyons, while mistrustful of the sea, nevertheless must roost on the coast in the face of the waves and there raise their families. Like VF's halcyon, the parents are both bold and frightened, *audaces* and *pavidae*.[106] The inherent danger in the halcyon family's situation and their mixed emotions as they face it characterize animal life with the same internal struggle as that of humans in tragedy. Yet the tragic motif nevertheless is in the background for the reader, for VF's model seems to be a passage that, while activating the imagery of mourning birds, explores the blurry boundary between epic and elegy more than that between epic and tragedy.

In fact, it is Ovid's full origin myth—importantly not a simile—of the halcyon that most likely informs VF's use of the halcyon to illustrate the intensity of Hercules' grief, with all its accompanying connotations which fill in gaps in the comparison. Both underline and problematize VF's recasting of Hercules' relationship with Hylas.[107] Ovid's treatment of the story of Alcyone and Ceyx is found in *Metamorphoses* 11, and especially relevant is 650ff. Like the *Agamemnon* passage, an exemplary familial devotion is suggested by the story of Alcyone as echoed in VF. The immediate context for the simile, the appearance of Hylas' shade, recalls the visit of 'Ceyx', who is in reality Morpheus, to Alcyone in *Met.* 11.650-73. Of course, the vision of Hylas has its models—though not in AR—but Hylas' guise particularly mirrors the sodden visage of the Ovid's drowned 'Ceyx'.[108] Both of the shades recreate the circumstances of their deaths for the sleepers as they tell their stories. Hylas, however, subverts the closing thrust of 'Ceyx'' speech to Alcyone, namely that she knows what happened to her husband, followed by an imperative that she not allow him to pass to the underworld

[105]There is another instance of a mourning bird mother in tragedy, in Soph. *El.*103-9. But this is the nightingale, who mourns the young she herself has killed.
[106]Sen. *Ag.* 681b-5. Seneca is probably depicting 'halcyon days', described in Ov. *Met.* 11.742b-8, and by Servius in his commentary on Verg. *G*. 1.399; cf. Thompson (1895) 31.
[107]Elegaic roots are found in both *Met.* and Propertius, Von Glinski (2012) 89-91; Heerink (2007).
[108]Both Hylas and 'Ceyx' appear with the 'accessories' that signify each one's respective watery demise: Hylas, V. Fl. 3.22-3; Morpheus as Ceyx, Ov. *Met*. 11.655b-6. On the significance of water in each, see Reed (2013) 203, Gärtner (1994) 127-8.

unmourned (11.669-70). Alcyone obeys, and in the extremity of her mourning, throws herself—*insilit,* 11.730—into the sea in pursuit of Ceyx' body. Her devotion is rewarded with the transformation of herself and Ceyx into kingfishers, who are thereafter provided the 'halcyon days' by Aeolus to nest on the coast, raising their offspring (740b-48).

In contrast, Hercules is urged *not* to mourn (*Arg*. 4.25), and instead, is ordered to work toward his catasterism while remembering his love for Hylas (4.35-7).[109] As an animal whose very origin is owed to an act of mourning, the halcyon as a parallel to Hercules thus seems incongruous. But while her appearance signifies the depth and reality of Hercules' grief, her behaviour provides the proof of both his devotion and acquiescence to Hylas' charge. The crushing and overwhelming of the nest and chicks is the fatal shipwreck of *Metamorphoses* 11 in miniature, and particularly evokes the breach of the ship's hull in 514-5. Yet the imagery is transformed here to make the lost the 'child' rather than the spouse, and the halcyon is in the very midst of the disaster. Indeed the bird's experience seems to correct Ovid's account and to surpass Hercules' grief in extremity, while her actions are also characterized by both events.[110]

On the one hand, the pain of the mother is amplified by the fact that she witnesses her chicks' end. On the other, her struggle to save her young while frightened by overwhelming nature is tragic, yet newly tinged with the heroic. She persists until she sees for herself that her efforts are pointless, echoing the sense of *vani* in the external narrative. But unexpectedly, she does not then follow her aitiological namesake by plunging recklessly into the sea, joining her family in death. Instead, she sets the pattern for Hercules' response to Hylas' admonition. The halcyon embodies parental devotion and grief, real and raw, but the simile closes with her choice to survive: *dolens*, *se sustulit alis*. *Dolens* itself is significant, because by it VF asserts that the bird is indeed mourning; Ovid's anthropomorphizing of expression of the transforming Alcyone, now in bird form, is less complete, because her sound is only *like* mourning.[111] Hercules, in turn, has demonstrated his own love for Hylas, first in his search efforts, and then in his desperation to embrace the youth, all in vain. He rises up, *exilit*, still in

[109]Hylas counters the sort of argument Alcyone makes in Ov. *Met*. 11.701b-3, that she would be crueller than the sea if she were to survive her grief.
[110]VF asserts his own self-consciousness about the many possibilities available in dealing with the story of Hylas, e.g. in alluding (via a Book 1 prophecy) to a variant which he himself does not narrate, on which see Zissos (1999) 293-4. Note the appraisal at Verg. G. 3.6.
[111]*similem,* Ov. *Met*. 11.734-5; Reed (2013) 208. See also Von Glinski (2012) 12-3,15-8, on the empathy provoked by lack of clear distinction between animal and human identities and capacities resulting from Ovid's 'tenuous boundaries'.

distress, *amens,* and as the halcyon, offers a lament in 4.51b-3, brief in contrast to Alcyone's speeches spanning much of *Met*. 11.684-707 and 712-28. But his actions in the following lines mirror the halcyon's flight upward and clear of the waves: *iamque iter ad/Teucros… flexerat,* 'And now Hercules bent his path toward the Teucrians', 58-9.[112]

The archetypal mourning bird as a mirror of human mourning, especially unto self-destruction, here earns a narrative of her own. The familial ties, important to reinforce in VF's programme in this sub-plot, and permanent separation from loved ones, are imported through the image of the halcyon, because she intertextually signifies Ovid's Alcyone and Ceyx. In fact, VF's marked choice to filialize Hercules' and Hylas' dynamic, simultaneously complicating it with an allusion to a married couple, may itself be the dominant motivation for the simile at this point. But VF actually brings Ovid's shipwreck into the bird's world, transforming it into her nest. The animal experiences the humans' Ovidian elegaized tragedy for herself, but then embodies an overturning of Alcyone's surrender to a broken heart. The mother is an individual, for her tale includes all the components of helplessness and loss, but does not end with a succumbing to emotional devastation. It ends rather with a recognition, and what could be described as a rational response. The halcyon image would have been sufficient to emblematize Hercules' grief, but VF allows her story to play out, and shows the bird in a process of recognition and decision-making. He evokes Ovid's origins story, where the halcyon symbolizes despair unto death, but then deliberately changes what the bird itself signifies by changing her, bringing her episode and her emotions to a non-suicidal conclusion. She exhibits desperate devotion as well as understanding, after which she does not protest or pursue her chicks in vain.

VF's reinvented halcyon is ostensibly the image both of Hercules' bereavement, and of his decision to move forward in his heroic career. But within the simile itself, she does not simply mirror a human action or feeling. She lives through a detailed trauma, fighting the elements and her own fear, proving her love with maternal heroism, and challenging the literary dependence of her existence on human experience (Alcyone's suicide), the story of which her choice to survive rejects. Importantly, the animal exhibits both virtue and resolution in quick succession, predicting the human action in Hercules' story, modelling not only grief, but also practical response to

[112]This reference to Troy reasserts the tie between the Argonautic plot and the Trojan cycle, but Jupiter corrects the timeline just a few lines later, redirecting Hercules from Troy to free Prometheus, 4.60-81.

reality.[113] The halcyon signals an epic plot reset and a resolution of generic tension acknowledged overtly by the introduction of the halcyon: as a species the bird derives its significance from Ovid's origin story, an epyllion in which Ovid exploits the problematic pull of both elegy and epic, with the oft-used bird mourning motif from tragedy broadening the emotional register. VF uses the halcyon to write a tragedy with an alternate ending in which he addresses and answers the apparently un-epic nature of the episode and the threat of grief to Hercules' future, and perhaps even his identity.[114] VF can easily communicate despair through the halcyon, but stops short of grief unto death. A simile inspired by the aitiology allows VF to evoke several aspects of the epic tradition, such as the attempt to embrace a shade, and self-destructive grief. The familial nature of the relationship between Hercules and Hylas is reinforced by the bird imagery in the simile, while the extremity of emotion from the simile's model is implicit in the choice of species. But the halcyon acts independently of expectations, like Hercules, embodying the assertion of will in the face of great suffering.

ii. Mother & Chicks: Rite of Passage

The bird imagery in this next simile, one focused on a bird family, does not carry so much inherent meaning, not least because the type of bird is not specified. Mourning bird parents, as was seen in examples from tragedy, need not be halcyons, and there are several precedents for imagining birds in such circumstances. In VF's exploration of the experience of several members of a bird family, the mother is not mourning but actively parenting, as she leads her brood on their first excursion from the nest. In Book 7, the Colchian civil war between Aeetes and his brother Perses has concluded, but Jason has not yet gained the Fleece, which he was promised as payment for fighting on the side of Aeetes. Aeetes has set the 'labours' for Jason—yoking the fire-breathing bulls and fighting the earth-born—and Juno and Venus are now determined that Medea should help him. Juno's earlier efforts in Book 6 to make Medea fall in love with Jason have not been entirely successful, and in Book 7 Venus has now taken it upon herself to give the princess the final push toward *amor*.

Disguised as Medea's aunt, Circe, Venus has managed to persuade Medea to help Jason in the tasks set for him by Aeetes (7.254-91), and has infected her mind with poisonous kisses (254-5). Once the goddess is convinced of Medea's compliance, she

[113]Hershkowitz (1998b) 157-60.
[114]Alcyone claims no longer to exist at Ov. *Met*. 11.684-5, having died with Ceyx. Hercules of course cannot be so bound up with Hylas' fate, with so many deeds left to perform.

waits for her at the palace gate (300) while Medea wrestles with herself (301-46), makes her final decision (347-9b), and collects and prepares her potions, derived from plants sprung of Prometheus' blood (355-70). Medea determines that she will follow where 'Circe' leads, heeding her advice, noting her 'aunt's' irresistible wisdom and experience, *grandaeva consilia*, and her own youth as a *minor* (348-9). But as Venus leads the way through and out of the city, at the same time soothing her 'niece', Medea is not so certain:

> qualis adhuc teneros ut primum pallida fetus 375
> mater ab excelso produxit in aera nido
> hortaturque sequi brevibusque insurgere pinnis;
> illos caerulei primus ferit horror Olympi
> iamque redire rogant adsuetaque quaeritur arbor.
>
> Just as when a fearful* mother has first led forth 375
> her tender young from the lofty nest into the sky,
> And urges them to follow her and to rise up on little wings;
> The first dread of dark blue Olympus strikes them,
> and already they ask to go back and the customary tree is sought. [7.375-9]

The mother bird in the simile is first described as *pallida,* juxtaposed with the vulnerability of her chicks in the same line, emphasized by the enjambment of *mater.* She apparently recognizes the danger involved in leading her chicks out into the skies, danger which is only later described with the chicks' perceptions in mind.[115] Nevertheless, her responsibility to teach her chicks to fly is not one she undertakes lightly. She acts decisively, taking her *teneri fetus* in wing, and in spite of her own anxiety, and that of her chicks, they all leave the nest.[116] She not only goes ahead of them, but also urges them—*hortatur*—to follow and to push themselves, a challenge to their strength and size, their *pinnae* notably *breves*.[117] The reader is given insight into what she feels, which perhaps even her young do not perceive. As her behaviour

[115]See Taliercio (1992) 130 on *callida* v. *pallida*, and cf. Perutelli (1997) 346. Both Stadler (1993) 143 and Gärtner (1994) 201 read *pallida* as well.
[116]Which several books ago was called *domus*. Here the term *nidus* reinforces distance from humans, perhaps because the key activity, flight, is not a human one.
[117]Daedalus, in contrast, insists that Icarus follow precisely where his father has led: *me duce carpe viam*, Ov. *Met.* 8.208a; *Me pinnis sectare datis; ego praevius ibo:/Sit tua cura sequi; me duce tutus eris*, Ov. *Ars am.* 2.57-8.

communicates authority and courage, she perhaps masks her feelings.

The focus then turns from the mother's intent to the chicks' reaction to this new experience.[118] They are afraid of the vastness of the heavens and the landscape that opens up in front of them, subjectively described, and of which they may even be the focalizers. But implied is a strong trust in their mother: they are afraid, but they do not dare to turn back without her. This is suggested in *rogant*, a counterpart behaviour to *hortatur*. The terms attribute different meanings and affective expression to bird sounds, anthropomorphizing their communication. Vulnerable in the face of 'Olympus', nature—and their mother—will not allow the nestlings to return to the comfort of their *adsueta arbor*. There are thus several dimensions to a story consisting of only a few lines, which is also emotionally charged by its lack of a conclusion. It can only be conjectured whether the chicks will indeed baulk or continue following their mother and complete their first lesson, and thus their fate is uncertain. This stands in contrast to the halcyon episode, which ends with a measure of closure as she rises up and departs from the deadly flood. VF's description here of the birds' experience leaves the chicks in their emotional difficulty, torn between trust in their mother and the draw of the nest.

Venus is aligned with a strong mother, and ironically, considering VF's repeated proleptic hints at Medea's later maternal experience, Medea is aligned with the timid nestlings. This simile ostensibly depicts successful parenting, demonstrated in the chicks' rite of passage. The chicks' flight shows the natural influence of the mother—though in the case of 'Circe', the influence is appropriated—to persuade or to compel detachment and self-sufficiency in an important learning experience. Medea's inner torment, as Venus' magic works on her mind, was before characterized by similes portraying helplessness.[119] Now, she is taking the first steps into adulthood as a mythic heroine.[120] Indeed, there is compulsion, but with this simile VF has introduced a tension between compulsion and choice, and with the familial bonds and a common, necessary event, he again leaves the main narrative for a moment and takes the reader up into the sky with the birds.

As in the case of the halcyon, the model for this simile is found only in Ovid, twice,

---

[118]Medea's decision, coerced or otherwise, to follow Venus, is a life-changing one, Gärtner (1994) 200; Stadler (1993) 143.

[119]Io harassed by Furies, 111-3; mad lapdog, 124-6; hallucinating Orestes,147-52; Pentheus, 301-4. These portraits to varying degrees emphasize insanity, helplessness, coercion, and perhaps dependence.

[120]On the influence of tragedy on VF's presentation of Medea, see Davis (2014), esp. 204-5 on her innate power; on the influence of Seneca on the developmental trajectory of VF's Medea, Buckley (2014) 313-9.

and in both cases, in the telling of the same myth: the flight of Daedalus and Icarus. Because the image is so uncommon in extant epic, and the unnamed species does not have popular beliefs associated with it (as did the halcyon), much of the meaning generated from an intertextual relationship results from the implicit linking of Venus' and Medea's departure from the city to the escape of inventor and son. Ovid combines images of mentoring and tenderness by comparing Daedalus' instruction to Icarus, before they make their escape on the father's ingenious wings, to a mother bird leading forth her chicks on their maiden flight.[121] In Ovid's two narrations of Daedalus' story, the father is as anxious for his son's welfare as he is to make their escape from Minos. He kisses Icarus, urges him to follow exactly where he leads, and makes sure to show the boy how the wings work. The similes in Ovid are short, with the focus primarily on the will of the parent, who is the subject of the action, teaching (*erudit*) the chicks or leading (*produxit*) them from the next. This tends to emphasize the importance of Daedalus and his initiative. There are some problems with the analogy, comparing the Daedalus-Icarus pair to Venus-Medea, but articulating these would take the discussion far afield from the subject at hand, birds and first flights.[122] Needless to say, VF both fleshes out the details of the experience and environment, and looks at them from two different perspectives. As he explored the emotional world of the bird in the halcyon simile, VF here turns an Ovidian half-line reference to a generic event into an episode, a story with a motive, emotional conflict, and points of view. VF takes the original comparison, which addresses the dual dynamic of the parent/child relationship (authority and love), and develops it into a rite of passage experience for a bird family, complete with the perspectives of both the initiatrix and the initiates.

For the chicks, frightening as the venture from the nest is, their departure is about growth and experience. And while Olympus here is figurative, birds in a literal sense could come closer to the heavens than any other animal.[123] The young birds are on a journey toward independence. Bird culture, like human life, involves a series of stages and transitions, and this image more than the earlier similes in Book 7 illustrates vividly Medea on the threshold. Like her, the chicks have latent power, but they are inexperienced, dependent and impressionable. The chicks' relationship to their mother, and the dual perspectives in the simile, highlight her influence and responsibility, and

[121]Ov. *Met*. 8.211b-16ff.; Ov. *Ars am*. 2.57-70. The former is the primary verbal model for the simile itself. See Gärtner (1994) 201, Perutelli (1997) 346-7 on the Ovidian influence.
[122]For a discussion of this, see Appendix A.1.
[123]This of course excepts mythical creatures that fly, and bats, which do not appear in epic.

her young's inner struggle between trust in her and fear of the unknown. The open sky is seen in its awesome vastness through their eyes, not hers. Should they pass this test, furthermore, they will nonetheless face a life of constant danger, which will toughen them for the future, like their own mother and the halcyon of the previous simile.

The parallel between Medea and the young birds is not only in their embarkation from everything they know, a liminal moment marking a point in 'growing up', but also in the force of necessity. For the birds, it is nature itself, and for Medea, it is also fate, helped along by the influence of first Juno, then Venus. Fear of the unknown and the loss of the familiar is mitigated by the power of the maternal authority figures; the maiden flight of both the nestlings and Medea requires trust in their guides and determination to overcome their fear. Importantly, and ironically, the flight also signals the first step in their individuation. Indeed, for the sake of the chicks' survival, the influence of their mother's authority and urging must exceed their fear. In expanding on Ovid's portrait, the important distinction between young and old in terms of experience and maturity creates tension between animals as it does between humans. The shift in focus from the mother's efforts to the chicks' doubt indicates a shift in narrative importance, from Venus' will, to Medea's. In addition, the transition from themes of confusion and madness in the previous similes to one suggesting a normal and necessary—if upsetting—emotional progression encapsulates both the event of forced growth and the emotional effect on Medea. But whereas the chicks are left in mid-air, still frightened, Medea soon crosses the threshold in a tangible way, and there is a role reversal as Venus begins to fear her young charge (7.389-94a). The focus on the young in VF's simile encourages empathy with the perspective of Medea in an image which might suggest her failure. But unlike Icarus, Medea's innate potential will soon overshadow the authority of the parent, though like the chicks, for the moment she will remain vulnerable in the face of new experiences, her own power still in its infancy (7.397).

The idealised portrayal of the bold halcyon, paired with the driven mother of the Book 7 bird family, reinforces the strength of familial ties and parental influence in the life of birds, which suggests a cohesion and affection in their groups which is not always reflected in the epic's human relationships. These bonds do not however nullify the real danger faced and suffered by bird families. Yet in both stories of the similes it is the struggle that occasions the demonstration of the animals' response to their environment. The utter helplessness of the halcyon chicks contrasts with the natural

progression of the Book 7 young from nestlings to fledglings. Dependence and independence are negotiated in an orderly way in the life of birds, and their experience and stages of life prove useful for describing Hercules' loss and Medea's departure. But VF offers insight into those experiences as perceived by the animals by dwelling on them as sequences of events and/or feelings, and even highlighting the conflicting perceptions of different animals of the same event.

Finally, in spite of the determination of the mother, the second simile does not provide any closure, only the embarkation and 'midst' of the transition. The chicks' story is open-ended. Hercules' part in this epic has been given a formal coda, as he has moved on and into other things, mirroring the halcyon's story. The halcyon's resolution tends not only to suggest rationality, but also ennobles a tragic animal experience. In the latter passage, the fledglings' future is uncertain, adding a layer of ambiguity to the emotional confusion of the birds' circumstances. The lack of resolution is in itself perhaps anthropomorphizing, pointing to a subtlety in delineating animal experience perhaps typically expected in the case of the human. It is interesting to note again that the most probable models for these two passages are found in Ovid; birds are numerous in the *Metamorphoses,* of course, as the beings into which humans often transform, and the shared experience of birds and humans in moments of emotional extremity is asserted at the most literal level in various metamorphoses. In VF, however, the birds in themselves mobilize the human experience from the intertexts, and instead model for their respective human counterparts an internal change, whether it be managing grief, or triumphing over confusion and fear.

iii. Cranes at the Nile: Life in Migration

The third Valerian portrayal (the first in the text chronologically) of bird behaviour is more conventional, and does not impart so much meaning from interaction with single models. Rather, as a flock simile, it has many precursors, and thus a more varied connotative background. Flocking bird similes trace their heritage through extant models from Homer to Lucan, several more than the previous two similes apparently inspired by Ovid. Details which appear throughout epic flock similes indicate a strong relationship between bird communities and their natural environment, one that is more explicit than in the depictions of the other animals featured in this study. The movement of birds compelled by harsh weather, usually cold and wind, and their seasonal migration, features as prominently as the considerable noise associated with birds

gathered in large numbers.[124] The animals also impact on the landscape around them: in several similes nearby rivers and meadows are described as echoing the birds' cries. In these passages it is the thunderous echo that conveys the great size of the flocks.[125] Also clear is their status as an unbounded species, moving according to schedule or by necessity from and across the sea, looking to and filling the heavens, and destined for northern homes or sunny southern havens. What originated as a simile for illustrating the noise of troops on the battlefield in the *Iliad* was later paralleled to 'flocks' of the dead, the chaos of citizens in panic, and women wailing in fear.[126]

In the midst of so many intertexts, particularly important for the background of VF's use of the flock motif are two similes in *De Bello Civili*. The reason for this prominence is that Lucan's flock simile is the only pre-Valerian extant text to make a major shift in a stock geographical detail which VF then picks up. In addition, Lucan explores a different angle of birds' relationship to their environment. VF uses this to great effect in quite a different context from those found in other flock parallels, including Lucan's. VF economises, however, invoking both of the Lucanian similes' innovative details in one image with a unique focus.

Lucan's two model similes emphasize the reflexive dynamic between birds and their environment by twice turning the conventional imagery on its head. In a curious blend of the motifs of the force of weather on birds, and the filling of the landscape with their noise, Lucan describes in *BC* 1.259b-61a a case in which the birds are present, but oppressed by the cold in such a way that both land and sea are silent. Later, he describes the orderly migration of cranes, dictated by the change of seasons, in their distinctive 'V'-shaped (*littera*) formation 'taught them by chance' (*casu monstrante).* Ironically, this formation is then disrupted by wind and the flock is thrown into total confusion, *BC* 5.711-6.

VF appears to continue the narrative of this particular flock in his very first bird simile. In the *Arg.*, the flock image appears at the close of the dramatic funeral in the kingdom of Cyzicus and his Doliones. Here the Minyae had made fast friends with the king and his subjects and exchanged gifts before continuing their journey at the end of Book 2. In VF's version they are brought back to the shore at night by the goddess Cybele, anxious to avenge herself on Cyzicus for having killed one of her chariot-lions

[124]Cranes, Hom. *Il.* 3.2-7; unspecified birds, Verg. *Aen*. 6.310-2; Strymonian cranes, Verg. *Aen*. 10.264b-6; Strymonian cranes make for the Nile, Luc. 5.711-2.
[125]Hom. *Il.* 2.459-63; Ap. Rhod. 4.1300-2; Verg. *Aen*. 7.699-702; 11.454b-8.
[126]Hom. *Il.* 3.3b, 5-6; Verg. *Aen*. 7.699; 10.264b-5a; 6.310, 312.

and hung it as a trophy in his palace[127] (3.20-42). The Cyzicans and the Argonauts do not recognize each other and a sort of civil war in the dark ensues, which is finally ended by Jupiter at daybreak (3.249-53). The funeral for the fallen is attended by both the Minyae and the Doliones after the night-time battle has left Cyzicus himself dead. The funeral will receive more attention in 2.b. of this chapter. For now, it is important to note that vocal lament features prominently, with the respective groups' grief articulated in Valerian-original speeches by Jason and Cyzicus' queen Clite. As the funeral concludes, VF deploys a flock of birds in a simile which some readers might have found familiar: Lucan's confused cranes of Book 5 had left the winter behind, destined for the waters of the Nile. The choice of the Egyptian river rather than the more common Asian locales, Strymon and Cayster, is retained by VF.[128] The flock simile in VF describes the departure of the mourning Cyzicans from the pyre with a comparison to the landscape after the migration of birds *away* from the Nile:

> iamque solutus honos cineri, iam passibus aegris
> dilapsae cum prole nurus tandemque quiescunt
> dissona pervigili planctu vada, qualiter arctos
> ad patrias avibus medio iam vere revectis 360
> Memphis et aprici statio silet annua Nili.
>
> And now the honor to the ashes is paid, now with frail steps
> the daughters-in-law depart with their children, and at length the waters,
> confused with the ever-watchful lament, are quiet, as when,
> the birds having now returned to their northern native homes in mid-spring, 360
> Memphis, and the yearly quarters on the sunny Nile, [are] silent. [3.357-61]

VF's turn on Lucan's storm-tossed cranes implies the eventual completion of their migration in their time spent along the sunny Nile.[129] Lucan had left them jumbled up, *immixtae,* and crowded into confused, aimless circles, *glomerati in orbes confusos,* their formation ruined. In VF's simile, the birds are now returning home, having several

[127]See the discussion of this passage in Ch. 4.a.i. below.
[128]If Lucan is using Arist. *Hist. An.* 8.12 (cf. Plin. *HN* 10.32) as inspiration for choice of the Nile as destination, he has nevertheless kept the Homeric (and Virgilian) Asian locale as the cranes' origin. Cf. Stat. *Theb*. 3.526-7; Joyce (2008) 75n.
[129]This also fits with Aristotle's argument that migrating cranes fly against the wind (*Hist. An.* 8.12); they thus should be accustomed to recovering their formation in adverse conditions.

months ago presumably regained their formation and completed their journey south. But their winter stay is now through.

That the Cyzican mourners, particularly the wives (*nurus*) of the fallen, are likened to birds here is not surprising. The image is not unusual for tragedy. In epic, however, there is no parallel for the comparison of birds to mourners at a funeral.[130] And unlike so many of the models, VF focuses on the ensuing silence upon the cranes' departure. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that the simile notes the effect of the birds' migration on the landscape rather than the migration itself, and the silence rather than the birds' noise. Also, the treatment tends to emphasize the temporary—seasonal—effect of the birds: winter has evidently passed. The seasonal quality of their settlement temporally delineates the mourning of the Cyzicans. It too is passing, and at the very least the landscape where they lament will return to its previous state.

While seasonal events are temporary, they are also cyclical. The cranes' migration is here a mirror of and pattern for life (including human) in times of bereavement: loss, grief, and then a return to 'normal', to other pursuits. This pattern, of course, is repeated often in literature generally, and especially in and after characteristically epic funerals and ritual mourning. On the human plane, Lucan's confused birds, an illustration for Caesar's galleys disrupted in the night by unexpected high winds, might also be an apt parallel to the confusion of the night battle on the shore of Cyzicus.[131] But the funeral ritual as the next step in a cyclical pattern has the effect of restoring quiet. War, having brought the mourners to their grief, has now given way to a form of communal re-imposition of order. And in the return of silence to the shore—*tandemque quiescunt*—is the implicit return of peace. The choice of the flock for an epic funeral is an unusual one, and is used to create the opposite effect from the typical portrayals. Here the birds highlight not the sound of emotional extremity, but the completion, perhaps sufficiency, of an event, which for the humans signifies an emotional resolution and the beginning of recovery.

The bird community moving and living in a pattern of cycles parallels the means by which ritual patterns allow humans to continue in stable society after severe disruption, trauma, and loss. On the animal level, VF's sequel to Lucan's simile demonstrates the persistence of pattern and instinct in the crane community itself. While their migratory pattern is determined by the season, and while they are endangered by unexpected bad

[130]'Bird imagery is recurrent to signpost grief, victimization and disorder', Thumiger (2014) 89-90.
[131]cf. Pliny's comparison of the flight formation of geese and swans to Liburnian galleys, *HN* 10.34.

weather, enough of the flock completes the trip and makes winter quarters. These same then journey homeward, only to repeat the same migration south in the following year. Apparently the disorder in nature is also only temporary; disrupted or not by the weather on which they depend and indeed around which their lives are structured, the cycle continues. The cranes arrived in sufficient numbers to make the river valley resound with their cries, as paralleled in other similes. In the external narrative, with the rites completed, *solutus honos cineri*, there is no need to remain, and *en masse*, like the migrating cranes, the bereft depart with a mournful gait, *passibus aegris/ dilapsae.* The waters themselves were disturbed by the constant lament, *dissona pervigili planctu vada.* As in the typical noisy flock motif, the landscape itself may have been echoing, as if joining in, the mourning, for the semantic range of *dissonus* includes the idea of confused sound or disharmony. Now that the mourners are gone, the landscape—this time having echoed humans—in turn experiences its own next step in the cycle: peace and quiet. The Nile in its post-departure state goes quiet (*silet*), analogous to the now silent shore of Cyzicus.

The pattern of the cranes and their migration is, on the one hand, reassuring. The Cyzicans will move forward from their loss and resume their lives. On the other, the cyclical form of this pattern may hint at the concept of history repeating itself. This makes sense, given that this narrative is myth, and that the readers have seen this before: the civil war, the realization of the unwitting participants, and the funeral. Though there is a promise of a return to normal, there is simultaneously a threat of the next war, the next bereavement. The pattern also suggests a sort of tradition or history of bird life that coexists with or runs parallel to the myth/epic tradition; the two intersect at various points, when traditional bird activities are used for epic similes, and the content of this flock simile can be said to self-consciously refer to 'past meetings'. As the seasons, with which the birds are in tune, turn with such predictability, so bird and human experience follows a pattern. Finally, the return to daily life may also represent a self-conscious gesture toward the Argonautic and indeed epic tradition: the reader of epic has been here before, has imagined the birds coming and going, has attended a (Cyzican) funeral, and then with the heroes has returned to action (albeit after a delay due the grief of the Minyae).

The bird cycle, in which events mark passage of time as well as the return of repeated events, is counterpart to to the 'growing up' stage of the maiden flight simile. Bird life in VF is replete with events which highlight communal ties in courageous

displays of devotion, rites of passage, and group travel which best ensures the flock's well-being and survival. In each simile, a cameo of bird society is presented which is a parallel of the human action in miniature, but also has its own level of relationships, challenges, and sometimes even its own plot. The effect of expanding bird references into stories, or continuing the stories suggested by earlier representations, attributes to the animals the expression of a wide range of emotions, reflective decision-making, individual development, and even virtue. The birds have lives, bonds and even 'pasts' in their own right, which VF manages to explore meaningfully in a few brief sketches. VF thus takes earlier anthropomorphizing tendencies even further, allowing his bird similes to do double duty. The birds chosen in each case have significance within their own circumstances, which are unique either in the level of detail, perspective or emotional effect, which at times are derived from the human contexts of the source passages. Thus the simile animals have taken the position of humans as subjects of the mythical trials. These newly meaningful circumstances and animal behaviour, both evoking and differing from models and expectations, are then mapped back onto human experience. This mapping offers clues for interpretation of human behaviour (for example, Hercules' acquiescence to return to action), and of course, adds depth to the emotional expressions of the humans, allowing exploration of their internal and emotional struggle and development through the birds' different but dynamic and empathetically portrayed perspective.

b. Horse Vignettes: Horses in Human Society

In epic, birds are perhaps the animal group most distant, in multiple ways, from humans. Most species are wild, and with their capability of flight reach lofty heights and are often inaccessible to humans. But VF nevertheless develops portrayals of them that are emotionally evocative, and encourage a view of bird reality through their eyes. Other animals are ascribed an anthropomorphic perceptiveness, and the horse in particular is in fact much closer to humans. Horses' emotions and reactions to events, as will be seen, are arguably deeply affected by their proximity to and moulding by humans.[132] Birds' emotional range in VF, while comparable to that of humans, is in a sense domestic and primitive. Their responses to their world make sense, but their world, while remarkably similar to humans', is separated from it and from human culture. Horses' emotions are part of their trans-species cultural exposure, and theirs are

[132]Clutton-Brock (2007) 72, 85-6; Willekes (2016) 26-7; 135-6.

in a sense more complex. Their emotions are relationally reflexive, being shaped or developed by their contact with humans (humans are in turn shaped by their interaction with horses, explored at some length in 3.b). Like the birds above, however, horses' emotional expressions are not always elicited by humans in the moment, and in the two passages discussed in this section they may be be treated as independent animal perceptions. Instinct is supplemented by memory in the first, and in the second, horses actively, almost consciously, participate in a multi-species ritual. This is different from the fledgling's above-described rite of passage, an emotional episode, but not an event that is organized around emotional expression. As in the passages of birds, the horses whose experience is so shaped by human contact are then used to define the human.

It is only natural that horses as close labourers with and even friends of humans should be anthropomorphized, and they are throughout classical texts, both fictional and non-fictional. An argument may be made from Virgil that some Romans may have seen horses as emotionally closer to humans than any other animal. The bond between horses and humans, special among domesticated livestock, is attested to in the third *Georgic*, where the difference between cattle—also important domesticates who earn sustained focus—and horses is not only in their respective working roles, but also in their socialization. In the case of cattle, the focus is on their ability to work together as a team under the yoke (*Geo*. 3.166-73); with horses, what is most important is their devotion to their masters and delight in their attention (3.185-6). Early juxtaposed descriptions of the animals show a distinction between the two species, as the narrator recommends to the breeder what he should look for. When preparing to raise a herd of cattle, it is the appearance of the heifers and readiness for the plough that dominates the focus, with most details concerned with the physical features, both build and strength.[133] In contrast, Virgil imagines the behaviour of even a very young horse bred for the races, labour for entertainment rather than food production, its attitude and disposition couched in not only anthropomorphic but even heroic terms.[134] While both animals are anthropomorphized, war- and chariot-horses rejoice in the same glorious undertakings

[133] 3.49-59: face and front, 51b-3; length and proportions, 54-5; colour, 56; spirit, 57; appearance (with hints of gender crossover and fluidity?), 58a; height and gait, 58b-9.

[134] 3.75-88. Physical features, 6 lines: gait, 75-6; appearance and proportions, 79b-8 (his *pectus* is *animosum*); colour, 81b-83. Disposition, 7+ lines: leadership, boldness in the face of natural obstacles and new situations, and evenness of temper, 77-9a; a; natural bent to warfare, 83b-85. The last few lines, 86-8, combine both aspects of appearance and disposition, and the phrase *graviter sonat ungula* is reminiscent of the *sonum* from the front in line 83. Finally, the passage closes with comparisons not only to great mythic horses, but specifically epic ones, 89-93. I want to thank G. Manuwald and F. Mac Góráin for pointing me toward the physical/epic contrast in depictions in this passage.

as do humans[135] (3.83-5;102;106b-112;182-4). The concerns of cattle, in contrast, are limited to the bovine world. Not only are emotions, from grief to competitiveness to vaunting triumph, attributed to horses, but even the objects of those emotions, and equine motivations, originate on the human plane.

The close quarters in which humans and horses live and work together shapes other literary descriptions of horse experience as well. But interestingly enough, portrayals of horses in similes tend to be less anthropomorphizing than those of horses in epic action. And in contrast to birds, horse similes are comparatively rare, and there are only a couple of types. Nevertheless, working with a much narrower template, VF in one simile draws from both types and from the equine imagery in *Georgics* 3 to create a simile horse with a subjectivity not seen before. The companion passage discussed in Part ii. of this section is not a simile, but has been included with the simile as a supplementary sample of the emotional attributes of horses implicit in the text, especially where there is no explicit horse-human interaction. This passage is a very brief reference to horses at the above-mentioned funeral at Cyzicus, and comprises all of four words. But its function is simile-like in that the horses' behaviour is meant to mirror and exemplify that of the humans in the same passage. And taken with the simile, it demonstrates an influenced, though markedly independent, will and perceptiveness on the part of horses. Further background on the literary and real-world relationship, even companionship, dynamics between humans and animals will be more thorough in Chapter 3. But even in the passages below, where the immediate contact between horse and human is minimal to none, the impact of shared social experience and exchange is clear. VF, adapting familiar motifs, takes exploration of equine emotional range in two different directions with interesting implications for horse sentience and the relationship between horse and human. In the process, he credits the horses themselves with unparalleled levels of perception and ability to empathize.

i. Warhorse at the Ready: Training & Memory

As in the depiction of birds, the exploration of the individual is also important in discussing VF's treatment of horses in this category. There are no horses in the night battle between the Minyae and Doliones at Cyzicus, but the civil war combat in Book 6 includes numerous references to cavalry and impressive feats of horsemanship, which will be important later in the thesis. In the case of the horse simile in the *Arg.*, the

[135]See the discussion of the *Georgics*' bulls in Ch. 2.b. below.

horse's emotional expression not only anthropomorphizes the animal, but also thoroughly individuates it. This is a depiction without precedent in pre-Valerian similes, centred on the outlook of a retired warhorse, alone both literally and in its thoughts.

The sort of horse VF has in mind, a warrior, can be gleaned from the presentation of such horses in other texts. The motif of the spirited horse appears in various genres, from Homer through Aeschylus, Ennius, and Lucretius to Ovid, and simile depictions generally fall into two categories: a horse breaking free from its tether or stall and running free, seeking mares; or a warhorse, sometimes hearing a clarion call, subsequently stamping its hooves and/or champing at the bit, eager for battle.[136] Such horses tend to be deployed as comparands to heroes on the field or anticipating combat.

In contrast, VF's single warhorse is the first animal to which Jason is compared, and appears in a non-military context. The Minyae have tarried on Lemnos in the first half of Book 2, their decision to stay prompted in part by bad weather ordered by Jupiter. The Lemnian women, having killed all their men in a Venus-induced rage (2.82-310), now have an opportunity to ensure the survival of their people. This is apparently Jupiter's intent, as he gives the Lemnians and Argonauts time specifically for *amor* (2.356-69a). After a while, however, the Minyae grow too comfortable, distracted from their quest (2.371-3a). Jason himself is preoccupied with the Lemnian queen Hypsipyle. Hercules alone retains his focus, and, impatient with his luxuriating comrades, reminds Jason of the reasons he joined him on his adventure, exhorting the captain to return to action (2.373-84). The horse in the simile immediately following is pictured alone and indolent:

> quam bellator equus, longa quem frigida pace 386
> terra iuvat—vix in laevos piger angitur orbes—
> frena tamen dominumque velit si Martius aures
> clamor et obliti rursus fragor impleat aeris.
>
> Just as a warhorse, which the land cold in long
> peacetime pleases— he is scarcely haltered, indolent, in[to] awkward circuits—
> nevertheless would wish for the reins and master if Mars'

[136]Runaway horses: Hom. *Il*. 6.506ff. (Paris); Enn. *Ann.* 535ff. [517-21]; Verg. *Aen*. 11.492ff. (Turnus). The runaway passages are typically longer than those of the second category, eager warhorses: Aesch. *Thy.* 393f. (Tydeus); AR 3.1259ff. (Jason); Verg. *G*. 3.83-5; Ov. *Met.* 3.702f. (Pentheus in a rage). Both types of behaviour are described by Lucretius at *DRN* 5.1073-7, as is the moment when a horse's courage fails him.

clamour and the noise of the forgotten horn should once again fill his ears.
[2.386-9]

What is most unique about the portrayal of this horse is that the seat of the 'action' is internal. All the intertexts depict the horses in action, their motives and state of mind evident from their behaviour. This is true even of the passage which shares the detail of the war-horn: there the horse visibly and audibly reacts.[137] The response of VF's horse is invisible and purely psychological.

Not only is the action internalised, but it also is hypothetical. The subjunctive here is teasing. Both of the Virgilian models are in the indicative. The adoption of a conditional allows VF subtly to point out precisely the way in which the horse mirrors Jason at this point in the narrative. Hercules' summons is not exactly a call to battle, but rather an exhortation to Jason to finish what he started. At the same time, the condition is still an argument that the horse, when truly faced with the mustering call to the front, will answer with courage and eagerness. This simile overturns and combines certain details of the similes and imagery so neatly separated in earlier texts. The horse is described as tethered in his paddock, and he also is alerted by a call to war. But while both motifs—the possibility of escape, hinted at by the detail of the halter, and war-readiness—are present, VF has deviated from the details in the models.

First, this simile horse is neither motivated nor distracted by erotic desire. *Amor,* so significant as a potentially destructive force in the lives of both humans and animals in the *Georgics*, and its overwhelming power highlighted in especially (female) horses in Aristotle, is the purview of humans in the *Arg.*[138] VF's carefully chosen words in this simile avoid mention of amorous desire, which is the primary issue in the Argonauts' stay at Lemnos. VF avoids other authors' arguments that horses are especially vulnerable to erotic passion, a natural theme for comparison in this context. He instead perhaps implies that it is due to the horse's environment that he cannot act.[139] The reader is introduced to the animal, but before his actions are described, his portrait is interrupted by the backdrop of *terra*, with its triple adjectives both reflecting backward upon the *bellator equus* in the first half of the line, and standing in contrast to him

[137]This is Ovid's simile for Pentheus in *Met*. 3.702-3: *fremit*; the cause: *pugnae amor.*
[138]This does serve to keep the *Arg.*'s animal kingdom free from erotic desire (as will also be seen with VF's cattle), again in contrast to Virgil, *Geo.* 3.209-18. Indeed, there love is what humans and all tribes of animals have in common, *amor omnibus idem*, *Geo.* 3.242-4.
[139]Assigning responsibility or blame to external circumstances rather than to the horse is apt, since Jupiter himself has determined that the Minyae be delayed by the weather to allow time for love.

grammatically. Next, the horse does not break free, and it seems he would have been perfectly content to remain pasturing at tether, should he not hear the battle cries and brazen notes. Yet he is not faulted for this. Rather, the guarantee of his awakening is a clear correction to Virgil's assertion in *Geo*. 3.95-100, which stands so close to Virgil's description of the rousing power of the clash of battle over the spirited horse at lines 83-5:

> Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo grauis aut iam segnior annis
> deficit, abde domo, nec turpi ignosce senectae.
> Frigidus in Venerem senior, frustraque laborem
> ingratum trahit, et, si quando ad proelia uentum est,
> ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine uiribus ignis,
> incassum furit…
>
> This one also, when he is either heavy with disease or now rather slow in years is growing weak, shut him up at home, and do not overlook his ugly old age. The old horse is cold toward passion, and in vain he draws out his unpleasant toil, and, if ever he comes to battle, as when in the stubble there is a great fire without strength, vainly he burns. [*Geo.* 3.95-100]

Virgil's old horse is cold in desire (*frigidus in Venerem)*, and if sent into battle would be useless (*incassum furit*). This depiction is challenged by the *Arg*.'s horse, but the contradiction is subtle. The Valerian argument focuses not on any visible demonstration of the animal's martial readiness (such as the stamping of the ground in *Geo*. 3.87b-8), but solely on the operation of its mind, namely, the effect of memory and association. This is enough to merit comparison with a distracted human hero. Furthermore, in VF the land is *longa…frigida pace*, while the Virgilian horse is itself *frigidus*.[140] The Argonautic horse's long period penned up in peacetime has not rendered him unsuitable for action—he is still an animal set apart and devoted to a specific purpose, both ideas communicated by the use of the word-pair *bellator equus*. Indeed the Valerian horse is not vain, but mindful, and since he is not anxious to break his tether, anxieties about madness or immoderation in the horse imagery are left to horses such as are used to describe, for example, the rampaging Turnus, a type not

[140]See Spaltenstein (2002) 414-6 on the theme of unused weapons (e.g. sheathed swords) growing cold.

utilized in VF at all.[141] The horse's desire for war and even *labor,* rather than for love, is now part of its identity.[142]

The simile in its psychological focus is matched to its languid context. The effect of the horn illustrates the initial effect of Hercules' rhetoric, which Jason must find persuasive. Any subsequent action depends on the effectiveness of Hercules in jogging Jason's memory without undermining his authority.[143] The lack of action in the simile also encourages a consideration of the nature of Jason's heroic status. Jason, like the horse, has never stopped being a creature trained for war. The delay in the plot has brought about only a superficial change, a pause, not having altered Jason's nature and epic role. Hercules' summons is all that is needed to get the narrative moving again, and it need not be a deflating rebuke which would contradict the argument of the simile. The episode at Lemnos thus is also fitted to VF's focused epic trajectory, always looking forward even when the Minyae are detained. The cue, even from a distance, brings Jason back to himself and to his purpose.

VF's passage shows a horse whose gameness is not lost to age or inactivity. But as importantly, it emphasizes the effect past experience has on equine reactions to their environment. This environment is of course dominated by the shaping influence of human interactions and pursuits in which horses take part. And the promised reaction of this horse, like the physical signs in other authors, suggests that horses not only learn to do what is expected of them, but even to enjoy it. The psychological thrust of this horse portrayal suggests a significant element of nostalgia, a phenomenon not seen in the intertexts for this passage. The call of the trumpet, though temporarily forgotten (*obliti*), retains its connotations, awakens memories of war, and to the horse means an opportunity to do battle. Activation of memory is enough to illustrate the horse's disposition and to guarantee his willingness to return to the field. Not only is the horse apparently unaffected by distractions of love, but peacetime does not weaken the influence of training and experience.[144] The very inversion of the order of the *si*-clause in VF emphasizes the horse's valour, and the replacing of Virgil's *si quando ad proelia*

---

[141]Verg. *Aen.* 11.492ff. VF's focus is on the horse's surroundings and its attitude, and concisely as in Aeschylus, Lucretius and Ovid.

[142]The clear dichotomy between love and war seems to be evoked by word choice in Ovid's horse simile (*pugnae amor*, see n.137 above) and questioned, the threat of madness in both suggested by the fate of Pentheus.

[143]Which is what happens in AR; see Hershkowitz (1998b) 113-7.

[144]It is also tempting to see the difference in proximity of the two uses of Venus (when discussing the horse in the *Geo*. and 30 lines before the simile in *Arg*. 2) as a means of distancing that drive from VF's warhorse.

uentum est with *si Martius aures/clamor et obliti rursus fragor impleat aeris* heightens the contrast between the peacetime behaviour of the horse and its attitude when called to war, an implied juxtaposition of *Mars* and *Venus*, a contest in which the triggering of martial memory is enough to undo any detrimental effects of a long period of 'cold'.

VF's reworking of his models adapts the horse's situation and reaction to the circumstances: the horse does not yet need to champ at the bit, as Jason will not be called to arms for several books, but he must be recalled from the Lemnian detour to the track of destiny.[145] VF's passage also transforms the literary horse, the horse of epic as well as of other genres. Here is an animal not especially susceptible to *amor*, but rather subject to the powerful influence exerted by its proximity to humans and human intervention in its growth and the shaping of its personality. This shared life not only socialises the horse, but shapes its individual development in such a way that, contrary to the sad, somewhat pathetic portrait of Virgil's senile charger, a warhorse's temperament is permanently transformed, made into a martial character. Furthermore, the argument of the simile focused on the horse makes the same argument for the human moot, implicitly denying the allegation that Jason is shirking his duties. Here, the warhorse's attitude reflects Jason's recognition of his own position.[146] A stallion breaking out of his stable to chase mares would not be unexpected here, as the Lemnian *mora* is for romance, after all. Yet this aspect of horse behaviour, previously accepted and exploited, especially in similes, is thoroughly glossed over. Rather, this horse, apparently minding his own business, is vouched for by VF to remember battle, to long for action and his human counterpart. Desire for glory and even work have become part of its nature, developed through experience and retained in what seems an almost personal way, for its memories are its own, and it would respond to the call as it stands in its pen, alone and unprompted by human or fellow horse.

ii. Warhorses at the Pyre: Universalizing Traits

While the warhorse simile is particularising, showing an individual animal's nostalgic response to a psychological trigger, the next passage universalizes an equine experience. Unlike this chapter's other forays into the animal world, the animals in this scene

[145]It is interesting to note that, just as in conjunction with the rampaging lion simile applied to Jason in Book 6, Jason's patronymic (2.385) appears very close to the animal imagery.

[146]But cf. Gärtner (1994) 86-7, where she reads the event as more strongly mirroring AR's less-than-flattering portrait of Jason at Lemnos than in my reading. The psychological reading of the horse allows for a sustained focus on nature and even personality, suggesting the constant readiness and willingness of Jason to return to the action. Nevertheless see Hershkowitz (1998b) 185-6 on the ambiguity of Jason's heroism raised and addressed by VF here.

participate in the narrative, but like similes, the imagery is heavily patterned, and the intertextual significance is like a short simile compressed into one loaded line. Specifically, the horses in this passage exemplify VF's interaction with the epic tradition in an event typical of the genre, namely, the epic funeral. VF's funeral is that for the fallen Cyzicus and his subjects, before the mourners depart like the cranes from the Nile (see 1.a.iii. above). Horses as offerings on the pyre, or as supernaturally perceptive and expressive companions to heroes, feature in Homer and Virgil, and these animals make up the tradition for VF.[147] Yet a brief glimpse at the Homeric and Virgilian horses will help to demonstrate how VF's funeral horses embody a significant departure from previous epic depictions of heroes' companions.

The animals appear as sacrificial gifts at the pyres in the paradigmatic funeral of Patroclus in *Il.* 23.171-2. The disposition of the horses which Achilles drives to the pyre are not described in any way. Elsewhere, however, Achilles' horses, Balius and Xanthus, heads bowed, weep for Patroclus (*Il.* 17.426ff.). Xanthus is later anthropomorphized through the expressive drooping of his head, his mane touching the ground in *Il.* 19.405-6, as he foretells Achilles' destiny in human language. As Achilles' relationship with his horses is special, Balius and Xanthus themselves are extraordinary, with even Zeus showing a particular sympathy for them. As he looks down, the father of the gods remarks that the horses' lot has caused them to feel grief as man does (*Il.* 17.445), and intends to spare them the additional outrage of allowing Hector to drive them.

Virgil makes equine lament more 'natural'. The grieving horses in the *Aeneid*, in three different passages, do not belong to Aeneas, and they are not supernaturally gifted, with speech or anything else. Moreover, similar to the case of Patroclus, Virgil's horses mourn for young heroes, yet they mourn for different characters, and the fallen come from both sides in the war. First, Mezentius' mount Rhaebus is said to be grieving, *maerentem*, for Mezentius' son Lausus, just before Mezentius rouses his equine companion to help him wreak his vengeance (*Aen*. 10.860-6). Mezentius also asserts with confidence that Rhaebus, if captured, would not allow the indignity of Aeneas riding him, as Zeus would not permit Hector to drive Achilles' team. It can be argued that Rhaebus' emotion humanizes the savage Mezentius at the same time that it anthropomorphizes the horse. Next, Pallas' horse Aethon weeps, *lacrimans*, for his

[147]There is no mention of horses in a funeral context in either *Met*. or *BC*.

fallen master (*Aen*. 11.89-90), shedding tears as did his models in Homer.[148] Horses next are part of the Trojans' funeral rites for Pallas and others, and not as sacrifices or in games—in 11.188-90, they run in the three-lap circuit around the pyres, while their riders raise the lament. As will be explored in subsequent chapters, Virgil's heroes, especially in the second half of the epic, seem inseparable from their horses, and this detail of the horses' participation in the funeral procession is noteworthy, standing in direct contrast to Homer or AR.[149] Still, the horses as a group are not explicitly described as sharing in the funeral lament with their human comrades.

VF's horses evoke these other animals on several levels, and yet their representation differs in an important way, implicitly mapping features distinctive of heroic horses onto the whole of the species. VF follows AR's example in his version of the funeral for Cyzicus and the fallen Doliones, with the Minyae apparently tracing a circuit in their armour on foot three times at *Arg*. 3.347-9.[150] A marching demonstration makes sense, given that the battle against the Doliones does not feature cavalry (as does Book 6's Colchian civil war). But VF here imports an epic horse reference, only a brief allusion which nevertheless activates heroic horse tradition from Homer and Virgil. In addition, horses in VF's funeral demonstrate something quite different from the implications in the bird similes and the case of the old warhorse, a fundamental feature of horse emotional life as they are brought to the pyre with other domesticated animals:

> …vadit sonipes cervice remissa
> venatrix nec turba canum pecudumque morantur 335
> munera fert*, quae cuique manus, quae cura suorum
> quae fortuna fuit…
>
> …the charger walks with downcast neck,
> and neither the hunting troop of hounds or flocks delay 335
> gifts are brought, according to what was each one's work, what grief
> for his own,
> what his fortune was. [3.334b-337a; *text for lacuna taken from Mozley.]

Again, there is no cavalry involved in the battle on the beach, and so the inclusion

[148] The visual and tactile detail of Aethon's tears wetting his face, with his tack set aside, is evocative of human experience. Cf. Verg. *Aen*. 11.191.
[149]Cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.6-14.
[150]cf. Ap. Rhod. 1.1058b-60.

of specifically warhorses, *sonipes*, is curious.[151] In the *Iliad* and *Aeneid* before VF, and in the *Thebaid* (12.69-70) after, horses are taken as captives (*Aen*. 11.79-80), and could be brought to the funeral pyres following engagements which include cavalry. But here, the horses appear practically from nowhere, dropped into the scene like the other animals.[152] Though unexpected or a-contextual, the horses' inclusion here is not a mere afterthought. In the diverse band of animals to be sacrificed at the pyre, in the case of the dogs and herds of unspecified livestock, it is the animals' movement that is noted: they do not delay, *nec morantur.* Their action suggests their attitude.

In contrast, the appearance of the horses, suggesting emotional expression through body language, is emphasized, *cervice remissa.* The use of *remissa* here is interesting, first as a substitution for the more usual *demissa*, a downcast [neck], and second, as a word which carries connotations both of attitude and physicality, namely yielding and looseness. This supports a reading of the horses' lowered heads as signalling a willingness to be sacrificed, as well as a sign of sadness.[153] All species present evidently share the same attitude: an acquiescence to the rites. This is achieved by the lack of hesitation, as well as by the omission of human agents who lead or drive the animals to the bier. The details of the non-equine animals are not particularly emotionally evocative; the narrator simply notes that they are not hesitant to approach.

The description of the horses, however, invites closer scrutiny. VF limits the horses' expression to those two words, *cervice remissa.* This is not to be unexpected in a sacrificial context, but the short phrase does double duty. Bowed heads portray (the conceit of) the animals' consent that reinforces the 'rightness' of the funerary offering—so self-evident even the animals accept it—and at the same time demonstrate the universal impact of the loss, since encapsulated in the image of the drooping necks of the horses is a particularly epic brand of grief. These two dynamics are not mutually exclusive, and may in fact signal a deliberate merging of concepts which had hitherto been kept separate. The horses' comportment is a very subtle reference to the bowed

[151]Horses (and dogs) as sacrificial animals were rare in real-life contexts, and as such, are more peculiar to epic, Ekroth (2014) 330-1, 335-7, 340-1. Still, animals do not appear in every post-battle epic funeral (AR 1, Sil. *Pun*. 10.558-64). The fact of sacrifices elsewhere is stock: see e.g. Verg. *Aen*. 11.78-80, 197-9; Stat. *Theb*. 12.68-70, 797-807.

[152]Mourning or sacrificial animals in other texts had taken part in the action and/or were sacrificed as spoils and are not inconsistent with the continuity of the martial action. In VF, however, the chargers may at first seem to be supplied as a function of the tradition, or are perhaps intertextual hangers-on to the coattails of Jason's and Clite's speeches, which have already invoked both Homer and Virgil, Manuwald (2015) 140-1, 147-8.

[153]Spaltenstein (2004a) 105; Manuwald (2015) 154. See Aldrete (2014) 29-30; though cf. Ekroth (2014) 325-6. Manuwald (2015) 154: '**uadit** "advances", attributes the action to the animals (as 335 *morantur*) and thus leaves open who is bringing the animals.'

necks of Achilles' team, both in their mourning and in Xanthus' prophecy. But also subtle is the contrast of the horses' approach to the pyre. In the Iliadic excerpt above, a wailing Achilles drives the sacrificial horses to the bier, while in Virgil, the horses of the enemy marched in the parade are mentioned almost as inanimate, simply spoils, like the *tela* next to them in *Aen.* 11.80.

In VF, horses both mourn and approach the sacrifice, as it were, voluntarily. This in turn informs interpretation of the action of their animal companions in 3.335. These echoes of and differences from Homer and Virgil also draw attention to other unique features, one of which is VF's elision of the moment of the animals' deaths, interrupting the audience's view of the action in which the horses are prominent players. Here, VF effectively substitutes the animals for the human captives killed in the *Aeneid*, without showing the sacrifice itself, thereby imposing standard practice for dramatic performance.[154] This overturns Homer, who like Virgil employs a tragic mode, and tends to identify the horse more strongly with the human.[155]

In addition to the altered approach of the animals to the pyre, VF's equine mourners differ from the Homeric horses in the sole detail given by the earlier poet. The horses led to Patroclus' bier are described as having strong or arched (ἐριαύχενας) necks, rather than bowed heads, or, as in VF, drooping or slackened necks. Strength and beauty are emphasized in the former, rather than emotional expression. And, the one physical feature which Homer mentions is that which VF inverts to characterize his horses. The tragedy of internecine war, and the Argonauts' sense of loss, is highlighted by the combination of the two horse images of the *Iliad* into one by VF. The horses do appear at the pyre as a sacrifice, but they go readily and clearly displaying their sorrow, bowing their heads. Here, the horses embody an animal grief that, for all its brief description, is quiet and dignified.

Two things must be noted. First, that demeanour, not beauty, is central, and second, that the animals are not named individuals. The grief rather than the value of the horses is the point, and the experience is universalized through the use of a group with shared characteristics and expressions, perhaps indicated by the poetic use of the singular

[154]Cf. the visible violence at Hom. *Il*. 23.171, 174. Hardie (1993) observes the extent to which Virgil has already 'contaminate[d]' epic with tragedy (22), and the funeral of Verg. *Aen.* 11 may be an example, 19 n.2. See also Harrison (2007) 208ff.; Buckley (2014) 307. See Sommerstein (2010) 33-7, esp. 35-6 on Greek drama's conventional prohibition against showing violence even against animals. See pp. 139-41 on VF's 'theatricality.'

[155]VF's twinning of each group of animals with an item from the trio of descriptors of the dead and the respective gifts in V. Fl. 3.336 has the effect of juxtaposing the living and the dead.

sonipes for the plural.[156] The elements of tragedy, the lack of specificity, and the primary characteristic of emotional expression all work together to bind human and horse together in a special way, via a multi-species ritual experience.[157] This funeral revises the depiction of the qualities that in Homer and Virgil had been limited to the named horses of heroes and anti-heroes. The ability to empathize, and even understand the circumstances of the human community, is extended to horses *in general*. In the *Iliad*, there is no such pathos, while the emotional displays of Virgil's horses are bound up in their special relationships to their respective owners. Indeed, here all the animals, not just special or immortal horses, share in the humans' mourning. The unique turns in VF anthropomorphize the animals and demonstrate that in such grief, there need not be so clear a divide between human and non-human after all.

Still, it is through the horses that meaning is communicated. The funeral for the Doliones is the only context in which VF's horses are seen off the battlefield, and is the only instance of equine lament. Yet the passage in itself demonstrates interaction with the depiction of horses in VF's predecessors at several points. The depiction is, in spite of the martial connotations of *sonipes*, aheroic, in that the horses are the first in a procession, presented as a collective. Yet they are the heirs of heroes' mounts, and it is their show of emotion that invokes the accounts of their equine counterparts elsewhere, whose special quality the presence of these horses implicitly questions. VF economises with respect to words, but the emotional and social tie between human and horse is not only present, but even amplified. The horses as a group mourn with the humans, and seem to understand the sacrificial rite in which they willingly participate. What is more, they are depicted in such a way that they take on a human dramatic role, their deaths taking place off-stage.

VF's funeral offers an expected opportunity for intertextual play, and a place for generic experimentation, but it is also a scene in which communal animal suffering, highlighted in the present by references which undermine the 'past', is used to intensify the impact of the humans' communal loss.[158] None of the animals need to be driven. But horses, in a class by themselves, are ascribed a particular level of empathetic—even

[156]Manuwald (2015) 154. The grief of the named horses of fallen named heroes—Achilles, Mezentius, Pallas—depends on their respective special bonds with special humans; it is particularised. In fact, none of the horses of humans in the *Arg.* are given names, with the exception of the reference to Cyllarus in 1.426. One other exception is the team of Mars, 3.89 (see Verg. *Aen.* 12.334b-6; Hom. *Il*. 15.119: Servius's gloss at Verg. *G*. 3.89).
[157]Cf. the *funera* of Book 6 discussed in Ch. 3.b.i.
[158]Of course, these 'past' expressions of heroic horses' grief actually will take place in the myth cosmos' future.

sympathetic—capacity with humans. This show of an empathetic bond in turn evokes empathy from the reader, and demonstrates to him or her the nature of the relationship between the epic's horses and their humans. The horses may not be named, but VF asserts that their pain is real and relevant to this ritual expression of grief. Equine grief is included as part of the raw mourning, and in itself is meaningful as a transformed and transformative echo of other epic horses. But the emotional communion with humans does not require a special horse—all the horses here have that capacity. This is perhaps a sign of developing awareness of the emotional experience of even 'common' animals in the Roman world; certainly the elaboration on ideas about animal sentience from one (epic) writer to another suggests a conscious consideration of animal experience. At any rate, intertextual layers here give the horses' expression of grief a generic weightiness, while at the same time the lack of individuation and naming generalizes the emotional capacity and vulnerability. It renders equine-human grief, the suffering of one due to the loss of the other, a universal, an expression of a bond that does not require that either human or horse be heroic or 'extraordinary.'

Conclusion

VF develops the subjectivity of animals through not only innovative anthropomorphic detail, but also unprecedented consideration of their experiences on their plane. In each simile, there is a momentary departure from the humans in the epic to follow the experiences of the animal. This in itself is not uncommon for simile, but as has been shown, VF teases out new possibilities for the templates and for the animals as empathy-eliciting beings, and as individuals. First, birds who live their dynamic lives are read not merely through their emotional responses, but even through a process of consideration and decision-making. Moreover, their simile events also illustrate their life cycles; this is in spite of the fact that processes of growth and experience may not be immediately recognized as mirroring the more obviously structured experience of humans, especially within community contexts. In certain circumstances, birds like humans rely on understanding and resolve—a self-imposing of order—to help them overcome physical obstacles and even emotional conflict. Birds like humans also experience life in cycles and stages. These shared traits suggest to Valerius' reader a certain significance in the order, and staging, of events as he has arranged them and as the birds and humans experience them, which helps give them their meaning. For birds, the imposition of order by necessity or by instinct is essential for survival; for humans it

is also essential for (especially emotional) recovery, and thus the bird imagery highlights the gravity of emotional turmoil: grief, fear, and confusion are matters of life and death. The sophisticated subjectivity, often portrayed through anthropomorphic behaviour and perspectives of the simile birds, thus also shapes the reading of the struggles of the humans and animals in the text and their responses.

In the case of horses, equine experiences and responses are shaped by their contact with humans. The impact of the interspecies relationship on the animal is clear in their conditioned response to training on the one hand, recalling courage and enthusiasm, and ritual participation on the other, revealing devotion and sorrow. First, the horse simile is unique in its attribution of psychological depth that lends particular individuality to the animal, as well as its exploration of animal nature as affected by humans. The result for interpretation of the human (Jason's) action is a psychological insight that then does not need to be explicitly claimed for the human. In contrast, the exception in this chapter—horses at a funeral—is, like the similes, wholly focused on animal experience, namely equine volition. Yet this passage puts the feeling, acting horses among people, so that their behaviour not only illustrates the circumstances of the humans, but links the species together in a communal experience, and stands as an argument for the empathetic capacity natural not only to heroic horses like Xanthus but indeed to horses in general.

On the literary level, VF uses this exploration and expansion of animal subjectivity both to show and to deepen the generic interactions woven into his poem, imbuing them with a sensitivity to both animal and human emotional and psychological complexity. This sophistication characterizes his poetic technique and is demonstrated in imagining the individual experience. VF's animals reflect in part the generic inheritance that he receives in the writing of his epic, but what distinguishes his animals is more than technical innovation. Suffice it to say that subjectivity and experience as VF explores it provokes questions, and hints at answers, about the status of and ideas about animals in Valerius' context: what did he see, and what is he saying in his epic? At the very least, while this may not be the primary motive for a simile, VF's animals embody and exhibit a new and profound attempt not only to use animals to characterize the human, but even more to assert the lived experience of animals as they exist apart from humans.

While this itself can be useful in exploring the human experience, the most important conclusion to be drawn is that the shared experience across species boundaries means that the animal perspective is informative in its own right. As

Leopold realizes in the epigraph to this chapter, an animal has its own perception of its life and experience, which is special and particular to itself. With this level of animal subjectivity accepted as a premise, it can be applied in readings of more complex passages, or across a selection of related passages connected by particular themes, such animal identity and relationships. Animal subjectivity can also inform the continuing investigation of the messaging of VF's poem and its relationship with his historical context. These applications will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 2. Cross-Species Reflexivity II: Animal Identity & Relationships

'There were three oxen who always grazed together. A lion had his designs upon them and wanted to eat them, but he could never get at one of them because they were always together. So he set them against each other with slanderous talk and managed to get them separated, whereupon they were isolated and he was able to eat them one after the other.'

-Aesop's Fable 71.[159]

The first chapter established the depth and complexity of VF's depiction of animal subjectivity, accomplished through empathetic portrayals of individual animal perception and life experience, and by asserting the animal's capacity to empathize. This chapter's portion of the study, building upward from the foundation of animal perspective and empathy, will centre on how description of animal experience in *Arg*. is developed for another purpose in the depictions of other species—lions and bulls—across several contexts, namely exploring and/or constructing animal identity and societies. These similes also differ in how they relate to one another: they form systematised sets which feature shared animal motifs throughout *Arg.*, which is not an aspect of the bird and horse imagery. Once again, the animals define and are partly defined by their human counterparts in the external narrative. Thus, insights gleaned from these systematic portrayals, sets of images that work together in creating thematic meaning, guide the reading of human (heroic) as well as animal identity in the following ways: negotiation of gender and gendered behaviour, relationships, power dynamics, and especially in terms of genre. These themes in turn illuminate an essential programmatic significance of animals in the poem, highlighted in the discussion below.

While these sets of similes are obviously divided along species lines, it will become clear that they are also divided by patterning—that is, the way in and extent to which the respective species are patterned in simile—and thematic effect. Part (a.) will explore VF's adaptation of the perennial heroic animal, the lion, particularly at the points of contrast between his preservation of traditional contexts and innovative, anthropomorphizing portrayals. Valerian-specific details invite consideration of generational ties, feline facial expressiveness, and the hero, lion or human, in old age. Interconnectedness of human heroes across generations through shared lion imagery also illustrates interaction between VF and the epic tradition, the genetics and

[159]Temple et al. (1998) 56.

inheritance of genre. Also significant is the arrival in extant epic of the female big cat, and the implications for gender boundaries.

In part (b.) we will consider the bull similes in two subcategories, distinguished by context and thematic argument, which go hand in hand. The portrayals of bull society and individual experience offer a compelling mirror for the particular challenge of the characters in the *Arg*., that of determining the place of the individual within the group. In fact, the interactions between the bulls and their herds exemplify VF's attempt at resolving some of the group-dynamic tension acknowledged and exploited by AR. The threat to Jason's leadership is especially evident in the bull simile set, and some remedies are presented therein. Still, the frequency and placement of these bull images may suggest that humans can only aspire to the ideal represented in the animal kingdom.

VF's repeated use of the same or similar animals across several instances allows for development of certain aspects of the individual of the species or its society within the boundaries of the epic. This progression then raises questions about the relationship of these aspects to the epic's themes as well as to human activity. Throughout the *Arg*., lions and bulls are represented multiple times in similar contexts. Taken together, each set of similes makes up an internal pattern. *Single* similes still characterize the immediate human experience in the narrative, but the *composite* imagery of the set also functions as a repeatedly-activated thematic model which VF refines with each additional case. Naturally, as with birds and horses, VF's representations of lions and bulls are shaped by the epic tradition. But regarding these two groups of animals, the tradition is more complex, for even in Homer simile references to them are much more numerous than references to birds and horses. Thus the images of VF's big cat and bull patterned systems inherently carry a great deal of generic freight in addition to their function in the *Arg*. Further necessary generic background for the two animal groups will be outlined at the beginning of each section.

a. Lion Similes: Genre, Generations & Gender

While simile representation of any animal in epic inevitably evolves over the course of the history of the genre, the development in portrayals of big cats is perhaps easiest to link with developments in the epic writers' respective contemporary cultures. Lions were available for practical observation by Romans of VF's time thanks not only to expansion of the empire into the regions where such animals might be found, but also to

the increasing demand for exhibition of big cat species in the games in Rome and other cities in the empire. Lion similes are incredibly common in the *Iliad*, the majority associating them with the attitudes and feats of warriors—generally powerful, bloodthirsty and raging. But most Greeks before the Hellenistic period would not have had the opportunity to see a specimen even as part of a travelling menagerie. In contrast, Roman representations would have been based on first-hand knowledge, or at least on more accurate descriptions and artistic renderings than were possible in Classical Greece.[160] At any rate simile lions were heavily typed, especially with martial qualities, probably due to their ubiquity in the *Iliad.* Nevertheless, fresh personal observation by an author like VF, and/or increased general knowledge about the species, could have influenced in a tangible way his own contribution to the tradition in his use of lions.

To begin, VF tends to anthropomorphize these wild animals to a greater extent than is seen in previous epics. Notably, he departs from the standard lion simile repertoire by changing the narrative contexts in which they appear (i.e., they are not necessarily used in war passages), and more obviously, by including a lioness. Such innovations beg the question of what thematic concerns may be driving them. VF restricts his engagement with the lion simile tradition to application of big cats to epic's heroic (male) protagonists. But this engagement as ever is shaped by his programme, and his particular portrayals of the heroic evoke consideration of matters such as identity and heritage. Additionally, VF supplements his now mixed-gender group of lions with a newcomer to epic simile, the tigress. His depiction of the big cat as a parent four times in the epic (twice with a tigress, once each with a lioness and lion), points to a similarity between the two species, recognized or asserted.[161] The tigress, however, is not substantially typed in epic prior to VF, and the simile tigress is not part of the lion system. Still, VF's double-employment of the bereft tigress motif, so similar to the imagery of the lioness simile, does merit discussion in Appendix A.2.

Altogether there are five lion similes which make up what seems to be a meaningful sequence: one appears at the end of Book 1, two are quite close together near the end of Book 3, and two are included during the civil war in Book 6. The two 'bookend'

[160]Even to the extent of attributing human moral sense to them, for example. Sources attest to some Romans' sympathy for and observation of lions' courage, nobility and a seeming sense of justice in the games (Toynbee [1973] 62), a likely consequence of much more real-world experience of the animals than was available to the (especially pre-Roman principate) Greeks.

[161]Birds, as we have seen, are also twice depicted as parents by VF, but these two similes have clear models, and birds are frequently depicted as devoted parents in several genres. The lion-as-father simile, however, while first seen in Homer, is not attested elsewhere in epic until VF.

similes are applied to Aeson and Jason, respectively. The second and third, from Book 3, both compare Hercules to the cat, though first to a lion and then to a lioness, without her cubs; the fourth simile is applied to Telamon, a lion with his cubs. The first, last, and Telamon's are all inspired by images found in the *Iliad*, and all five suggest connections to be made and comparisons to be drawn between the humans and their respective circumstances. Thus the first part of this section will look at the implications inherent in the lion imagery as applied to a father and son at different points in their heroic careers, negotiating temporal and generic thresholds on the mythic timeline, asserting identity and realizing heritage. The second part will follow the lion through the three middle similes, as Hercules' lion is replaced by (or becomes?) a lioness, bereft of her young, followed some books later by Telamon's comparand, now again a lion but with cubs in tow. The gender disruption naturally raises questions about gender and gendered behaviour in heroic depictions, and the repeated detail of the cubs, their disappearance and reappearance, then invites consideration of relational dynamics and stability.

i. Warrior Lions in Winter & Summer: Tradition & Heritage

By the time lions featured in similes in the *Arg.*, the way in which they were portrayed in Latin epic had developed to include a wider range of dispositions and actions than was ever seen in Homer, and as a result lion imagery was applied to a wider range of situations on the human plane.[162] Nevertheless, as is typical in Roman epic, marauding or cornered lions are most often utilized as illustrations for heroes in battle or about to engage their enemies.[163] Compared to the *Iliad*, fighting or marauding lions, used for comparison to humans in war narrative, are (unsurprisingly) rather rare in VF.[164] There is only one simile depicting a lion acting as a predator or aggressor, with two others depicting lions in a defensive posture. Lions are used in only two comparisons to men in battle, while the others are used for different types of crises.

The case of the first lion simile involves such a non-martial crisis, and appears at the end of Book 1. Jason's parents, Aeson and Alcimede, anxious to learn what will become of the *Argo*, have retreated to a grove in the night to conduct a necromancy.

[162]Hawtree (2011) 26-58, esp. 40-4.
[163]E.g., Verg. *Aen*. 9.792ff., 10.723ff., 12.4ff. Battle-lions do not appear in the *Met.*, and appear only once in *BC*.
[164]Since portions of only two books of VF are devoted to Iliadic-style battle. The use of the marauding lion simile is dictated by subject matter: cf. instances in the *Il*. (40) to in the *Od.* (7), Gärtner (1994) 114-5.

They have successfully summoned Aeson's late father Cretheus, who has predicted Jason's success in acquiring the Fleece and has urged Aeson and Alcimede to join him in the underworld. Before the couple have time to consider his invitation, they hear the 'rumour' of the approach of Pelias and his troops, bent on avenging Jason's 'theft' of Pelias' son, Acastus. Aeson hesitates, considering possible responses:

> …quam multa leo cunctatur in arta
> mole virum rictuque genas et lumina pressit,
> sic curae subiere ducem, ferrumne capessat
> imbelle atque aevi senior gestamina primi
> an patres regnique acuat mutabile vulgus.
>
> …just as a lion hesitates a long time in a dense mass
> Of men, and presses (up) his cheeks and eyes with his mouth open wide,
> Thus do doubts overwhelm the prince, whether he should snatch up his sword
> Un[used to]warring, and even as an old man [take up]
> the tasks of former days,
> Or stir up the elders and changeable common folk of the kingdom. [1.757b-61][165]

The application of the battle-lion to Jason's aged father is striking, though the depiction itself, in this context, is not. The simile of the lion at bay facing a group of hunters can be traced through several permutations which focus on the animal (and its human parallels) from different angles: its courage, its rage, and its will to revenge. The lion at bay can also be hero, anti-hero, and villain, and is compared to a wide range of characters, including Hector, Idomeneus, Ajax, Achilles, Amycus, and Turnus.[166] Turnus' lion simile is, of course, the most temporally proximate model to VF, where anger and frustration dominate the portrayal of the animal, but are complemented by other emotions not previously attributed to lions, with one exception.[167] The single outlier, significant in light of VF's simile, is the comparison of Penelope to a lion surrounded by hunters at *Od.* 4.791f., where the featured attitude of the animal is

[165]On this passage, see Hawtree (2011) 45-6; Kleywegt (2005) 440-4; Zissos (2008) 389-92; Spaltenstein (2002) 282-3.
[166]Hom. *Il.* 12.41ff., 13.471ff., 17.133ff., 20.164ff.; Ap. Rhod. 2.26ff.; Verg. *Aen*. 9.792ff.
[167]Hawtree (2011) 41-3; the characteristic rage present in Turnus' lion is diluted by an expressed nexus of several emotions (including doubt and fear), and undermined by the lack of decisiveness, paralleled by the ambiguity of the text.

confusion. Turnus' lion, frustrated by circumstances, demonstrates an unprecedented emotional complexity but still nevertheless retains the typical Homeric anger as an essential attribute and driving force to action.

Not only is the attitude of the lion here in Book 1 unusual, but so is the mode of communication, achieved solely through facial expression. This touch is unique to VF, and extends his empathetic consideration to a typically dangerous animal.[168] The only indication that the typical epic anger characterizes Aeson's lion is its wide-open mouth. The anthropomorphizing gape here works to evoke sympathy for both animal and human—formerly fierce—in their helplessness. Though the wrinkling up of its cheeks and eyes may indicate a roar or snarl, the lion is curiously silent, and it is tempting to read a human expression back onto the animal, rather than the reverse; that is, the lion is agape in astonishment and confusion rather than growling in wrath.[169] A growl itself may also be mere reflex, muscle-memory—the lion, like Aeson, may be old and unsure of his own fitness for action, perhaps *imbellis* as his sword in line 759. The lion in this sense is conformed to the passage. Save for the Penelope lion simile, this simile is unique in its appearance in a non-martial context. Generically speaking, the lion in its 'youth' was a suitable animal counterpart to a warrior-prince. But now in this lion's lengthy wavering, with desperation effacing anger from the picture, the narrative present—the age of the warrior—overwhelms the generic past.

The mighty lion, helpless in the face of the mass of men, has graduated from an irrational fury to the ability, seemingly, to weigh up its options. In this type of simile, the lion always chooses to fight rather than to flee. In a way, that is the only choice that occurs to Aeson, though *how* to fight gives him pause: to resist alone, or to attempt to lead an insurrection (1.759-61). The possibilities for the typical lion are not perfectly aligned here with Aeson's, as they are, for example, in the Turnus passage, where the hero's and the lion's movements are identical; the lion as a subject of comparison appears to be too simplistic for the multi-faceted situation in which Aeson finds himself. Here, the lion suggests what Aeson used to be, pointing out his potential inadequacy to the crisis if it means a battle. It also seems to indicate he is not of an age to achieve heroic feats, or at least, not of the type which led to the comparison of epic heroes to lions in the past. Nevertheless, the novel emotional depth of the simile and the immediate narrative surrounding it underline the force of familiarity: the image of the

[168]Hawtree (2011) 45.
[169]On sound here and in the Virgilian model, and the lion's expression, see Kleywegt (2005) 442, and cf. Zissos (2008) 392.

cat and man each matched against insurmountable odds establishes the constancy of Aeson's identity. It may be that Aeson's identification with the 'conventional emblem of epic heroism' allows the relationship between deeds and designation to work in reverse. Because Aeson is a hero, his acts may be defined as heroic, and the lion simile reinforces this.[170] The lion in the simile is still a lion, with all his past connotations woven and developed throughout the epic tradition, but he has found himself in a circumstance in which he cannot act according to his nature, either because of the circumstances, perhaps inability, or even disability. Still a surrounded lion commands respect, in this case because of his epic pedigree. VF likewise demonstrates that Aeson, trapped and aged, will perform one more heroic feat.

The deployment of a confused epic lion in the description of an older hero, ill-prepared for the situation at hand, is also apt in a scene which is pervaded by the interference and influence of other genres.[171] The significance of the lion is in the re-imposition of epic imagery and memory, and at the same time, an acknowledgement that Aeson's actions will not be a typical epic resolution to conflict. But the lion's confusion, finding its parallel in Penelope's simile, does demonstrate a precedent in epic for meeting an unconventional threat, that from within a household rather than on the battlefield, where ostensibly, social ties should bind parties together in peace. But the reality of violence from Aeson's own brother is clearer even than the menace posed by the guest-suitors in Ithaca. Yet Aeson, like Penelope keeping her wits about her, can defeat Pelias through the unexpected.

At this point in the scene, Alcimede speaks while Aeson mulls, and her appeal brings her husband back to himself. Having considered the honour of his family and *fata digna* (1l.767b-70), he seals his decision with the belated sacrifice: *ergo sacra novat,* 'therefore he renews the rites', (1.774). Aeson and Alcimede can do what an animal (here, the lion) cannot; they will take their own lives, and in so doing deprive Pelias of any power over them. The un-warlike blade is taken up after all, but put to a non-martial use. The aged Aeson, before helpless in indecision, now achieves a certain kind of victory, meanwhile praying that Pelias might be hereafter deemed unworthy to

[170]Zissos (2008) 392; though the simile has been criticized as 'ill suited to Aeson's passive circumstances...the point is to achieve a convergence of heroic modes, to valorize Aeson's suicide, its essential passivity notwithstanding, through intertextual association with the great martial heroes of earlier epic.' See also Kleywegt (2005) 442-3

[171]For the influence of both [Stoic] philosophy and tragedy on the necromancy scene, see Hershkowitz (1998b) 138-45. See also the discussion of the scene's bull sacrifice in Ch. 3.a.i.; on the Stoic acceptability of Aeson's choice, Zissos (2008) 389; for a note of comparison between Jason's choice and Aeson's, see Kleywegt (2005) 443.

be felled in battle (1.806-10a). The lion is effective in characterizing Aeson, specifically, his last act of will, which in its turn, like the sacrificial bull in the same scene, illustrates the capacity of man—beyond that of animals, and ironically, beyond lions—to rise above opposition, and even fear, through reason and virtue.[172] The lion and the hero are cut from the same cloth, but when all seems lost, Aeson's courage permits him a victory denied the cat. Heroic identity emerges even through a flux of generic interaction, and even through what could be read as a deflation of an epic topos, aged and perhaps even worn. But in the midst of confusion and weakness, Aeson, epic past invoked, shows himself decisive and adaptable, allowing for a very pronounced interaction between genre and (for VF) recent political history and philosophical considerations. The lion simile embodies a sort of gesture toward epic generations, links of heritage between past and present that do not preclude adaptability, awareness, and innovation, including new expressions of heroism.

Generational continuity is also figured in a more literal way, and can be seen by comparing Aeson's simile and situation to those of his son Jason. Both of this highlight a contrast between the older generation and the younger, ushering in both a new cycle of myth and a chapter in world history. VF's moving up in time of the civil war between Aeetes and his brother Perses (an event which elsewhere in mythography takes place after the departure of the *Argo* from Colchis) gives him an opportunity to assert, in the face of AR's treatment and the elegaic influence of Ovid's Argonautic episodes, the more traditional—or at least, Homeric—epic identity of his own poem and of his Jason.[173] He creates the occasion, cause, and space for battle in which the Minyae participate. And now the lion seems reinvigorated, its old, particularly Iliadic, iteration, but to what end in its Argonautic context is not entirely clear. Generic concerns are brought full-circle to full-roar, with a disturbing result. The second 'bookend' appearance of the fighting lion, in a typical 'marauding' simile, may be what some readers have been waiting for, a comparison of Jason to the favourite epic animal warrior.[174]

The background of the position of Jason's lion in the text is fairly complex. It follows after VF's fresh invocation to the Muse at 6.515 to help him recount the feats,

[172]Hershkowitz (1998b) 189.
[173]On VF's timing of the Colchian civil war and the thematic implications, see Clauss (2014) 112-3; Bernstein (2014) 164-6; Fucecchi (2014) 120-8. On the interaction of Jason's character development in the episode with Jason's alleged ignominious anti-heroism in AR, see Clauss (2014) 104-5, Castelletti (2014) 180-3; Stover (2014) 302 ff.
[174]Scott (2009) 180, 182.

the list of which begins, oddly enough, with the Colchian prince Absyrtus and his comrades. Jason then encourages and is encouraged by the success of the sons of Phrixus. After a brief account of more deaths, VF turns (with an *ecce* at 6.575) to Medea and her teichoscopeia, during which Juno both manipulates Medea's gaze and inspires (quite forcefully, *impulit, egit vires*, 602) Jason to further acts of valour, which Jason himself perceives (609-10). The lion simile is third in a trio of similes, all three of equal length (approximately two lines), with the first comparing Jason first to Sirius (607-8), and the second to soaring Caucasus (611-2). These first two describe his appearance, how he 'shines', like the (destructive) Dog-star as well as tell-tale signs of Jupiter's judgement, and then how he stands in relation to the warriors around him—lofty and imposing.[175] After such celestial, even titanic, imagery, the havoc-wreaking blood-letting of the lion, while appropriate to battle narrative, is jarring in its violence and earthiness. On the battlefield, the carnage realized by Jason is like a lion killing the pride of the stable in their own stalls:

> tunc vero, stabulis qualis leo saevit opimis
> luxurians spargitque famem mutatque cruores,
> sic neque parte ferox nec caede moratur in una
> turbidus inque omnes pariter furit ac modo saevo
> ense, modo infesta rarescunt cuspide pugnae.
>
> Then truly, even as a lion rages among the finest of the stable
> And revelling scatters his hunger and changes one stream of blood for another,
> Thus fiercely neither in one part of the slaughter or another does he delay
> But impetuous he rages equally against all and now with his savage
> Sword, now by his untiring spear-point the battle-lines grow thin. [6.613-7][176]

The position of the lion's opponents is more pathetic than even several Iliadic predecessors—the fatlings are helpless even to flee, to reconnoitre, charge, or try to lose themselves in the herd. They are entirely at the mercy of the lion and held at his pleasure by the stable walls. This particular feature of the situation may, however, prove to be just one aspect of a few in which the whole image actually serves to

[175]On Sirius in VF see Stover (2012) 198-205ff.
[176]On this passage, see Baier (2001) 243; also 94-5 on the structure of the simile; Spaltenstein (2005) 178-9; Wijsman (1996) 235-7; Gärtner (1994) 165-7.

undermine Jason's position as rising star.

This is where the *topos* of the raging lion fits best, in a martial context, in VF's most Homeric book, with Jason at his most Achillean, a (p)recapitulation of the Trojan War fervour and his aged heroic father's son in his proper sphere. But this simile has itself undergone some evolution since Homer, and most detrimental to a recuperated heroic reading of Jason is its Virgilian model. Indeed, though the lion seems to have finally appeared as his familiar former self, the feline warrior and fit counterpart to Achilles and his generic heirs, this simile has come with some Virgilian baggage. While the roots of the lion's destructive appetite may be found in Homer, the two main models —mostly seen in their verbal influence—for Jason's rampaging beast are in the *Aeneid*. The primary one is used of Nisus as he slaughters the sleeping Rutulian allies during the book 9 night-raid.[177] In comparison, Jason's enemies are armed and awake, and therefore given a fighting chance. But with such a significant difference in context, one must wonder why VF has privileged the Nisus incarnation of the marauding lion simile as his model for Jason's comparand. He has already demonstrated that the lion has multi-faceted potential in representing heroes' struggles in moments of crisis. And yet he turns to the simplest, perhaps oldest, image of the lion—hungry, angry, devastating—blending increasingly graphic Homeric passions with Virgilian details of location and circumstance.

Indeed, with all the verbal parallels in the two passages, explicit mention of hunger —*vesana fames*—is conspicuous in its absence in VF. That is, even hunger, a natural cause for the lion's violence, is an unmentioned and insignificant motive. Only rage remains. This can almost be termed a reversion to the 'pre-sympathetic', emotionally one-dimensional depiction of the lion, different from those animals of the similes for Penelope, Turnus, and Aeson. This is the cat at his most dangerous, most primal, most distant, and yet chosen as a fit mirror for Jason. For, if the context is VF's most Homeric sub-plot, the simile is also VF's lion at his most Virgilian. The *Aeneid's* lions are always raging, and almost always point to excess, and VF's channelling of the *Aeneid* influence further complicates the significance of the lion here.[178] Not long after Jason's leonine bloodbath, Colaxes, a son of Jupiter and ally of Perses, meets his doom

[177]Verg. *Aen*. 9.339-41; Gärtner (1994) 166-7; cf. Hom. *Il*. 3.23ff. (Paris), 10.485f. (Diomedes), 12.299ff. (Sarpedon), which do not feature the act of eating or gore; the bloody maw after the lion's feast first appears in Hom. *Od*. 22.402ff. The second marauding lion in *Aen.* (Mezentius) blends details from the Paris and Odysseus lions, 10.723ff.

[178]As in the Nisus/Eurylaus passage, see Hornsby (1966) 349-52; Turnus is twice likened to embattled rather than marauding lions, Verg. *Aen*. 9.792ff., 12.4ff.

at the hands of Jason in a preview of the death of Sarpedon. This is a passage in which Jason's own heritage is doubly highlighted,[179] and the repetition of Aeson's name invites comparison between Jason and the son of Jove.[180] It also invites comparison of Jason and his father, as these are the first and second use of Jason's patronymic since the lion simile. VF has also recently referred to Jason as *Crethides* in 609. A complex multi-generational strand of references suggests a deliberateness in choosing a lion image as the cap for Jason's battle similes, while emphasising his heritage: this, and the evocation of his grandfather, recall the necromancy scene and Aeson's lion simile. While heroism is a constant, ensured by mode and asserted through traditional forms like similes, its definition, and indeed heroes' characters, are apparently unstable. Aeson's lion is hesitating, unsure; Jason's lion is indiscriminating and even extreme in his violence. Jason himself is not content to let Jupiter's son Colaxes die under the initial and sufficient deathblow. *Furor* compels him, *cruentus*, to gratuitous brutality. Jason is able to act here, decisively and violently. While able to outdo his father, however, in other-directed aggression he also aligns himself with Pelias: *lapsoque cruentus/ advolat Aesonides mortemque cadentis acerbat*, 'and blood-thirsty Aesonides rushes to the fallen Colaxes and embitters his death as he sinks down', 6. 654-5, a subtle parallel unpacked in the tigress section of the appendix.[181]

Though Jason emerges whole from the Colchian war, and Aeetes' victory is achieved in part through his aristeia, the link backward to the *Aeneid's* night-raid suggests that there will be a price to pay for blood-lust.[182] In addition, the lion's behaviour demonstrates both Jason's ability to act decisively in a martial mode, while his father was unable, as well as his own potential for excess. Jason's lion splatters the stable with the gore of the weak and helpless, and without even the superficial justification of hunger.[183] This presentation of the lion, while a return to the 'original', could be construed as a degradation of the complexity of the animal offered heretofore, And rather than reinforce Jason's heroic status, it may signal a degradation of his

[179]*Aesoniae*, 653, *Aesonides*, 655.
[180]While Jove acknowledges that it is Colaxes' 'time' (624-29a), he enhances his glory on the field up until the point when he meets Jason, 629b-636ff.
[181]Cf. V. Fl. 1.819-26.
[182]And the echo of Pelias' soldiers' abuse of Promachus at the close of Book 1; this episode may also look forward to the possible slaying of Absyrtus. Gärtner (1994) 167 asserts that the links with Virgil emphasize the results and companions of *furor*—folly and pain.
[183]This may be intended to reflect what some have seen as a lack of justification for the Argonauts' involvement in the war, see e.g. Hershkowitz (1998b) 224-8. Indeed, such similes may be symptomatic of what Hawtree (2011) calls a 'reassessment' of [the Homeric presentation of epic-heroic] anger in Roman culture as a whole, 54.

character, or at least an ambiguity inherent in his heroism. The Virgilian lion assimilates Jason to Aeneas in an awkward, indirect way, by paralleling him to the animal used to characterize the most excessive Virgilian characters, in particular, Turnus, the anti-Aeneas and yet Aeneas' counterpart [184] Identity cemented by the familiar image of the lion perhaps indicates a rupture in inherited relevance. Aeson's politically resonant act of defiance—the new heroism—is a victory, and is rewarded with a welcome into Elysium. It is ironic that Jason's aristeia, so essential to his recuperation, does not contain the same notes of purity, though he is the main character and the younger man whose adventure is essential to the unfolding of myth and Roman history. Lions illustrate continuity of epic and heroic identity across texts and generations, but the individual portrayals of the lions compel comparison of the nature of the respective generations' exploits, defining different acts and even modes of heroism.

ii. Lionising & Lionessing Heroism: Love, Loss & Lament

In spite of Aeson's unusual situation, the bookend lions are quite typical in their at-bay or marauding stances, with the corresponding humans facing death. In the middle passages, three lions are turned to non-traditional messaging with a distinctive theme. The first of these three lions follows closely after a mad bull simile describing Hercules in desperate confusion upon the disappearance of Hylas, a passage discussed in the next section. AR's own treatment of this moment includes a single simile, that of a mad bull (1.1265-72); his account of Hercules closes with his threats against the Mysians who then try to help find Hylas (1.1348b-57). VF elaborates at length on Hercules' emotional state. He follows the initial bull imagery (see Ch. 3.b.i. below), which characterizes Hercules' confused and worried rampage with two more animal similes, the first of a wounded lion. By the time of this simile, Hercules suspects the hand of Juno in Hylas' disappearance, and madness gives way to rage:

> ille, velut refugi quem contigit improba Mauri
> lancea sanguineus vasto leo murmure fertur
> frangit et absentem vacuis sub dentibus hostem,
> sic furiis accensa gerens Tirynthius ora 590
> fertur et intento decurrit montibus arcu.

[184]Hardie (1993) 22ff.

> The Tirynthian, as when a lion, whom the reckless lance of a Moor in flight
> Has struck, bleeding, charges forward with a deep growl and
> Crushes the absent enemy between empty fangs,
> Thus carrying a countenance incensed with rage 590
> Goes forth and courses through the mountains with his bow[string] stretched.
> [3.587-91][185]

This is not an obvious place for such an image. Hercules is not facing an enemy, a literal analogue to the lion as found in the earliest iteration of the wounded lion in *Il*. 20.164ff., where Achilles is facing his opponent (Aeneas) at that very moment. There the lion in the simile, struck by a javelin, stirs himself up for a charge by lashing himself with his tail as if with a whip.[186] And again, there is no precedent for this simile in AR's Hylas episode. Instead, the Valerian details actually point to a version of the simile in Lucan, whose influence on VF's similes in general appears scant.[187] In contrast to that of Hercules, Lucan's spear-struck lion in *BC* 1.205ff. appears in a martial scene of sorts, though it also does not feature an interaction between two opponents. In the strong verbal model in *De Bello Civili*, Lucan offers a precedent for the raging lion applied to a human hero (Caesar) facing an unseen obstacle (his conscience and the gods' disapproval of his crossing of the Rubicon), with the imagined enemy given a tangible portrait in the hunter with the javelin. The lion seems to be stirring himself up against his own trepidation, counterpart to the fear the apparition of Roma has inspired in Caesar.[188] The lion's portrait here in *De Bello Civili* is much more developed than VF's, with several stages of the lion's reaction to the human assaults noted, and a fuller description given of its physical appearance.[189] VF, has, however, taken the narrative context one step further from its original in Homer. There is not even the martial veneer of the movement of troops toward battle. Instead, the inner conflict represented by the Lucanian lion's self-motivation and self-infuriation, namely, Caesar's efforts both to

[185]On this passage, see Gärtner (1994) 114-9; Spaltenstein (2004a) 169-70.
[186]See Hawtree (2011) 40-1. By the time of its appearance in this simile, the thrower(s) of the javelin had himself become a motif, being invariably North African, either Punic or Maurian, Spaltenstein (2004a) 169. See also Spaltenstein (2004a) 170 for suggested translations of *vasto* and *vacuis,* details which contribute overall to the characterization of the lion.
[187]Gärtner (1994) 115-7; cf. Spaltenstein (2004a) 169-70. Another notable exception is the flock simile discussed in Ch. 1.a.iii
[188]Hardie (1993) 62.
[189]These stages are present in Hom. *Il*. 20.164ff., although the lion there is attacked by a troop of men; in Ap. Rhod. 2.25-9, the intent focus of the cat on the enemy is also particularly pronounced.

gather his courage and absolve himself in the face of Roma's challenge, becomes even more inward-looking. Hercules' upset is certainly triggered by an outside circumstance —Hylas' disappearance, and his realization that Juno was involved—but his fury has no present object, no contextual opponent. It is an expression of rage that has no martial cause or outlet.

Both Lucan and Valerius have redeployed the picture of the hunted lion, pitted now in the *Arg.* against a single huntsman, such that some of the most important features of the similes seem to have no parallel in the outside narrative. Lucan, on the one hand, uses the progression of thought process and the actions of the lion to describe Caesar's gradual repositioning and rousing of himself to action. On the other hand, VF has left out the self-goading of the lion's thrashing tail, instead focusing on the uselessness of the lion chomping his jaws on air, unable to get at his enemy or the lance in his side.[190] Hercules likewise is powerless even to face his opponent or dislodge the 'weapon'. Frustration and anger, however, are more evident here than in Aeson's surrounded lion. Hercules' struck lion makes noise, like Caesar's.[191] The significance of *vasto* is in its figuring of emptiness: the lion's might is of no avail, and yet his frustration drives him on to even self-destructive futility. An especially unique feature is the flight of the lion's enemy, giving the lion an opportunity to escape which he chooses not to take.[192] Wrath dictates his single purpose, unattainable vengeance.

This simile follows closely on the heels of the attacker-gadfly-and-bull simile (3.581-4a), separated from that first image of Hercules' distress by the report of nature's shock at his behaviour. More than simply descriptive of the same scene, the similes parallel each other in certain details, yet are also supplementary. The apparently more powerful party (the bull or lion) is pierced by a dart, either the gadfly's sting or the Moor's spear, though the mental and emotional effect of the attack upon the victim is more the focus of the simile than the physical wound itself. The similes illustrate the reality of Juno's assault on Hercules through the snatching of Hylas, and the efficacy of her plot to cause his quick degeneration into a rampaging wanderer. The tormented bull illustrates the nullification of Hercules' place as a leader of the Minyae and member of the crew in his complete isolation, while the obsessed lion mirrors his present

[190]Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 12.4-9 and Luc. 1.211-2. A behaviour observable in domestic cats when excited, one must wonder if lions in the arena held their mouths agape when harassed.
[191]The difference in vocabulary is interesting: Lucan chooses *infremuit*, where the verb itself is the sounding, while VF has opted for *vasto murmure fertur*, a comparatively indirect way of noting the lion's vocalization.
[192]Paralleled only in Hom. *Il.* 5.136ff.; in the Latin models, the lion must confront his opponent, Gärtner (1994) 117.

ineffectiveness as a warrior in himself. The lion here is a deflation after a preceding simile aligning Hercules with Jove; it is also, however, one of a three-part depiction of lions in psychologically and relationally challenging circumstances.

This is not battle. The lion's behaviour, revealing an internal experience, is actually the next step in what may be an imagining of what has been described as stages of grief, and animal subjectivity here is thus highly complex.[193] This reading is supported by the lioness simile that follows closely after, at the very close of Book 3. The Minyae, after much debate, have left Hercules behind on Mysia. At nightfall, Hercules, unaware that he has been abandoned, is at a loss as to where to search next for Hylas, what he will tell the boy's parents, and how to go back to his comrades. Like an injured lion, he was overcome by frustrated anger. In the next passage, it is the despair of loss that characterizes the simile, and the animal with which he is compared is, notably, female:

> non aliter gemitu quondam lea prolis ademptae
> terga dedit; sedet inde viis inclusaque longo
> pervigilant castella metu; dolor attrahit orbes
> interea et misero manat iuba sordida luctu. 740

> Not otherwise did a troubled lioness once turn her back with a groan,
> her offspring having been taken; thence she takes her place by the roads, and refuges,
> Shut-up, keep watch [for her] in drawn-out fear; grief in the meantime draws down her eyes
> And her dirty mane hangs limp in wretched sorrow. [3.737-40][194]

The lioness represents the only instance in which one of the Minyae is compared to the female of a cat species. There is more than one consequence of this, the first being to complicate, once more, the portrayal of the traditional warrior-type. In contrast to

[193]The well-known so-called 'stages of grief' or 'stages of loss', for people receiving diagnoses of terminal illness, were first described in 1969 by E. Kübler-Ross in her book *On Death and Dying*. There has been much criticism of the Kübler-Ross Model, with its five standardised stages, later amended (in *On Grief and Grieving*) as common features of grieving processes which can occur in any order if at all. My argument here is not that VF is representing a spectrum as such, or as a general experience; this is Hercules' individual experience. Still, he appears to be going through an emotional process that includes a series of reactions to Hylas' disappearance: panic (bull), rage (lion), and despair (lioness).

[194]On this passage, see Spaltenstein (2004a) 203-4; Gärtner (1994) 122-4; Hawtree (2011) 47-9. The capacity of lions to mourn, or perhaps, their reluctance to mourn, is implied in Verg. *Ecl.* 5.27-8, where even (*etiam*) Punic lions mourn the fall of Daphnis.

VF's tigress passages for example, the impact of the lioness portrayal depends upon anthropomorphizing embellishments, rather than an appeal to literary or folk traditional traits associated with the animal.[195] The lioness' suffering is emphasized through the condition of her coat (*iuba sordida*), sounds (*gemitu*) and, again, expressive eyes—her condition is one of misery rather than reactive fury.[196] Rather than focusing on a typical trait of a wild animal in distress, such as bared teeth, VF uses anthropomorphized, downcast eyes. Furthermore, the lionesses' despondency is evident not only in her facial expression, but also her lack of concern for her appearance, a human sign of mourning.

The dual focus on her emotions and relative inactivity highlight the helplessness of her situation in a unique way. Unlike her (male) counterparts, she does not waste energy in fruitless pursuit, but rather keeps watch on the roads, *sedet inde viis*. Nevertheless, this period of waiting and grieving takes its toll on her as her body shows signs of wear and exposure.[197] Even more importantly, her apparent calm does not indicate that she is safe to those around her. The danger may be latent, but the humans in the vicinity know to be on their guard against the troubled mother. While she waits for a sign of her cubs, humans keep watch for *her*: *inclusaque longo / pervigilant castella metu,* 'the shut-up strongholds stay awake through the night due to enduring fear'. Certainly the lioness, as her feline fellows which were discussed above, is a multi-faceted portrait of instinct and power: emotionally vulnerable, but potentially dangerous and unpredictable.[198] Nevertheless, these rather un-Homeric considerations of power could have been demonstrated through an innovative employment of a lion, as in Book 6. There is something more going on in a simile in which the absent objects of emotional distress—the cubs—are yet placed so clearly before the reader.

Beyond the distinct emotional components available through the use of the lioness, the choice of the mother over the father allows Valerius to engage the Argonautic tradition on two other levels. The maternal bent of the simile is a contrasting echo of *pater…Tirynthius* in 3.565, which in itself is part of VF's intertextual dialogue with AR. The clear pederastic relationship between Heracles and Hylas in the latter has been

[195]See Appendix A.2.
[196]Spaltenstein (2004a) 203; the focus on drawn eyes in 739 may be yet another adaptation from *Il.* 17.136, Gärtner (1994) 124. Cf. the level of naturalism in the lion associated with Aeson.
[197]Explanations of this gender inversion may trip over the lioness' mane: Spaltenstein (2005) 204. The fact that the lioness is maned is probably more a function of generalized imaging of certain animals, rather than an invitation on Valerius' part to wonder why the female has been given 'male' features. See Jennison (1937) 186.
[198]This is a trait she shares with Hercules: cf. Ap. Rhod. 1.1348ff. and see Gärtner (1994) 124.

recast as that of foster-father and son, as alluded to in 1.a.i.[199] The breaking in of gender contrast tugs at this tension again, and may be addressing a lion simile Theocritus had earlier used to de-heroize Hercules in the context of his relationship with Hylas.[200] VF does not attempt to revive lion imagery in that vein, offering instead a simile where parental sentiment is the key component. In addition, the other non-biological parental figure pervasive in the episode, whose correspondence to Hercules is found in his foster-parent aspect, is Juno herself. The specificity of gender alignment of the simile animal with the goddess invites a comparison of Hercules' and Juno's respective approaches to step-/foster-parenthood. Juno targets her stepson through his foster son, reprising her well-known role as vindictive wife and persecutor of Jupiter's fertile 'other women' and their children. But at this point, in this stage of Hercules' emotional struggle, VF offers an alternative picture of maternal passion, one that is not jealous or vengeful. The power of the lioness is in fact sidelined by her emotional distress, as she does not exhibit the will to attack. In fact, the will to vengeance in Hercules' simile series has been expressed via the male in the speared lion simile. The portrait of the grieving mother is instead reserved for when Hercules has passed into despair.[201] While the lioness cannot act, her animal grief both veils her own power, revealing the nature of that grief, and challenges the divine callousness of Juno's actions.

These alternative visions of parenthood and psychology have greater implications than even the contrast between Hercules and Juno. These implications can be read especially in the depiction of (female) maternal lament, and this must be put into context. Both lament and parental imagery are woven throughout the passage preceding the lioness simile. Some of the Minyae (Peleus, Philoctetes, the Dioscuri) lament the loss of both Hercules and Hylas, and are themselves parallels to the lioness in their external signs of grief (3.715-25). Furthermore, the almost-paternal custodial image nearby of Phorcys with his herd of seals (3.726-8a) highlights the cross-species shared characteristic of devoted bond between guardian and ward, mirroring Hercules' sense of responsibility toward both Hylas and the boy's biological parents (3.734). The doubling of grief in, for example, the ashes in Peleus' hair and Hercules' despair implies that, in spite of the choice of the lioness, lament is not only the purview of the female. Epic has

[199]See Hershkowitz (1998b) 150-7.
[200]Theoc. *Id.* 13; Ambühl (2010) 158.
[201]McAuley (2015) touches on several relevant aspects of Roman literary maternity (on Juno's lack thereof: 131-2). Her discussion of Ovid's mothers (e.g. 116-8, 125, 140-2, 144) are important for reading VF's contrasting depictions and explorations of especially maternal psychology. Also note that in several cases of mothers, Ovid does away with literal metamorphoses altogether and focuses on 'emotional transformation' (135), reminiscent of Hercules' experience here.

been said to silence the female mourner by denying her lament any articulation, limiting her dangerous and destabilizing emotional expression to wailing or to the praise of male dead; Ovid had charted a new course by granting his mourning women speech, and his influence on VF in this regard probably merits further investigation.[202] While here in VF the lioness does not speak, the rationality of the female is asserted soon in the text through the halcyon simile, which, as noted in the previous chapter, helps illustrate closure for both the episode and Hercules' distress. And with respect to the lioness passage, again, lament across gender lines is reinforced throughout the surrounding text. VF, through twinning the lion with the bereft lioness, sets up the emotional states of rage and depression as related, two sides of the same coin. He uses the same species, but corresponding genders, the threat of attack to one, and for the other, the loss of young.

The application of the female to Hercules may at first seem to alienate him from his epic identity as ultimate (male) hero, but the other Minyae are lamenting as well. And through their focalization of Hercules' empty oar bench, the reader has just been reminded that Hercules is identified by his appropriation of (and assimilation to?) the skin of a (male) lion (720), on which see 4.a.ii. below. The lion and lioness are inseparable, both legitimate for figuring different aspects of the heroes' emotional experience. Hercules is both the lost and the bereft, and the choice of the female of the same species shows the relationship between anger and despair in the face of loss. Animal life is used to illustrate a process of response to loss, and here, the lioness is more than just female. Females of other species in epic mourn, usually cows, typically upon the loss of their calves.[203] The lioness is the heroic lion's counterpart: lament may paralyse, but it is not ignoble. She asserts the familial depth of devotion between characters who are not biologically related, the love between Hercules and Hylas, as well as that between the Minyae and Hercules. In effect, following the mourning of the Minyae and their imagining of Hercules' lion-skin, she binds them together though they are now separated. The heroic experience is very much like real life, with all of its psychological and emotional facets.

The third and final of these middle similes is purely Homeric in derivation, since there seem to be no intermediate Latin treatments of this simile. It is a straightforward imaging of the best of a heroic protagonist's character, enacting nobility, courage, and

[202]McAuley (2015) 116.
[203]A phenomenon observable today in beef cows when their calves are removed for transport to American industrial feedlots: the mothers will 'mope and bellow for days', Pollan (2006) 71.

loyalty in the heat and pressure of battle, in this case, in the midst of the civil war in Book 6. After Perses' ally Gesander's prolonged taunt and declaration of his own people's fitness for war, he launches his lance, which does not miss its target, the Argonaut Canthus. Telamon, vigorously defending his comrade's corpse, is compared to a lion at bay protecting his cubs:

> at vero ingentem Telamon procul extulit orbem 345
> exanimem te, Canthe, tegens. ceu saeptus in arto
> dat catulos post terga leo, sic comminus astat
> Aeacides gressumque tenet contraque ruentem
> septeno validam circumfert tegmine molem.
>
> But indeed Telamon held forth at a distance his great disc 345
> Shielding you, lifeless, Canthus; as a lion closely hemmed in
> Puts his cubs at his back, thus at close quarters
> The son of Aeacus stands at hand and holds his ground, and against
> the on-rushing mass
> Bears 'round him the strong seven-layered hide. [6.345-9][204]

This simile reinforces the generic heritage of VF's representation of his heroes through the lion. It also exemplifies VF's sometime-willingness to utilize his models, without much change in content or context. Homer's heroes in battle are very obviously echoed in a simile so heavily indebted in mood and action to its model, where Ajax fights to keep the body of Patroclus from the Trojans (*Il.* 17.133-7). Through the dutiful paternal lion, and the moment of battle in which it is used, VF draws a direct parallel between the action of the Iliadic heroes and the Minyae, with an image that is not hampered by the possibility of interpretive ambiguity. Father and son, Telamon and Ajax, in the same situation, are likewise compared to feline fathers, though the humans in the text are not protecting family members. Rather they are guarding the ultimate helpless, the otherwise-to-be-abused-and-despoiled dead.[205] Here, it is not the shared quality of courage or prowess highlighted, though of course those are factors; instead,

[204]On this passage, see Baier (2001) 187; Fucecchi (2006) 307-10; Spaltenstein (2005) 104; Wijsman (1996) 142-3.
[205]For remarks on the significance of depiction of humans as cubs, see Hawtree (2011) 51.

the devotion and obligation to fallen comrades is the binding tie in both passages.[206] VF proffers the paternal lion as a symbol of the strength of a [natural] social bond even after death, rather than the characteristically Homeric wrath and impetus toward victory.[207] At the same time, he chooses Telamon as the precursor to Ajax, indicating that such obligation is part of a truly heroic heritage, just as it is natural to the lion himself.

The nature of this simile naturally begs the question, namely, why it should be discussed in this section rather than with the two bookend lion similes. It would fit with Aeson's and Jason's lions for two reasons. First, in comparing this simile to its Iliadic model, one sees the two-directional reflexivity of intertextual relationships: what on a textual level is a Valerian recapitulation of a moment in the *Iliad* is actually, within the mytho-historical timeline, the template for the Iliadic event. The simile has been somewhat streamlined in detail, but it is both memory and exemplum: Telamon, in effect, embodies a prequel model for his own 'cub' (with Patroclus' father Menoetius ironically close at hand in Colchis), for it is his son Ajax who will stand over the corpse of Patroclus. The second reason is also the reason it is instead discussed in this section: the cubs. The cubs point to epic heritage, but this simile includes the fourth reference in the epic to parent cat and young, including the tigresses featured in the appendix. It thus makes sense to read it in conjunction with the bereft lioness simile. That said, the difference between them is not parental devotion, but the ability of the parent to act. The female illustrates the depth of lament in especially her helplessness. The male embodies courageous self-sacrifice. With the lioness sandwiched in between the two males, the three form a picture of the relatedness and interconnectedness of different emotions, and eventually, redemption of the parent. They are representative of different aspects of the heroic relational experience, with variation in gender serving to demarcate or blur the distinctions between human, divine, and animal in expressions of love and hate. There is perhaps a marked sympathy too with the female, which is prevented from acting. She simply suffers. But it is clear that the male heroes are not themselves immune from such trials. There is an implicit shared nature of vulnerability —shared by male, female, human, animal—all of whom/which experience the complex psychological processes accompanying trauma, often exacerbated by inability to respond with action, much less to exert control.

The psychological dominion of lions even over mustered men had, once upon a

[206]See Hawtree (2011) 44, 49-50.
[207]Fucecchi (2006) observes that in this passage and its parallels, the focus of the imagery is the protective instinct of wild animals whose young are threatened, manifested in anger, 308-9.

time, never been in doubt, its connotations of the destructive aggression and martial resolve being the ideal picture for the heroes of the *Iliad*, with no Homeric passages depicting fear, defeat (at least not without first inflicting serious harm on humans), or willing retreat to alloy it.[208] In VF, the warrior lion has emerged as a symbol not only for martial prowess, valour, and anger, but also for heroes in emotionally complex situations, where there is no military context—desperation, weakness in old age, internal conflict, and grief over loss.[209] VF there portrays the animals themselves with an emotional proximity and empathy, perhaps strongly indicative of unprecedented personal observation of them. The results of such observation he then uses to create an evocative connection between the reader and both the cats and the heroes of the remote mythic past. At the same time, though both Aeson's and Jason's identity and heritage is asserted through the imagery, that shared imagery carries very different implications for the reading of their respective actions. In the case of Telamon's simile in Book 6, the lion's anger and power are put to the service of defence of the weak, and to self-sacrifice. By creating a precedent for Iliadic valour in a mythic past even more remote than Homer, VF may suggest that this is how the epic hero ought to be. But as Hercules' lion and lioness similes show, not every event in epic is a context which permits the victory of the hero. Rather, an event like the loss of Hylas emphasizes the emotional vulnerability of heroes as well as of the predators which represent them, and VF seems particularly keen to explore the different aspects and processing of this vulnerability.

VF's lions help to assert the place of the *Arg*. within the epic tradition, and the positions of the heroes in the mythic timeline. They also signify the relevance of VF's treatment of the myth to his contemporary context, with new expressions of heroism informed by recent Roman political reality. The lion, the oldest animal representative of heroism, can signify heroism in a new age—political acts and their meaning. At the same time, lions appear in their Iliadic guise to suggest traditional heroism in two forms, one noble, one suspect. But also within the confines of epic heroism, in old and new expressions, is an exploration of relational psychology; the lion itself is relational, and through him (and the lioness) VF draws out the potential for enacting virtue as well as for suffering which are part of any close relationship. The challenges of identity and

[208]Hawtree (2011) 33-8, esp. 38.
[209]This may be literary evidence of the hypothesized increase in capacity (or indeed, opportunity) to sympathize with the exotic wild animals to which the Romans were increasingly exposed on a regular basis: see Jennison (1937) 63.

vulnerability in the lion imagery are apparently countered by the relational dynamics of the simile set of another 'Valerianized' Homeric animal, the bull.

b. Bull Similes: Isolation & Community

Like lions, cattle are subjects of recognizable patterns of imagery very early in the epic tradition.[210] And just like birds and lions, references to cattle are already numerous in Homer, where they may be prizes for the winners of competitions, a source of food and other materials, sacrificial victims, and the subjects of similes. In the *Iliad* in particular, the already-numerous cattle in simile are almost solely victims of other animals or humans, suggesting a narratorial or cultural perception of weakness or liability of cattle to subjugation.[211] Nevertheless, in simile cattle are multi-faceted and multi-functional, as familiar, domesticated animals, or as wild, capable of destructive displays of power and aggression against humans and other animals. From Homer through to VF (though, it should be noted, only sparsely in AR), cattle images evolve, and are used in epic to enhance moments of struggle, as both victors and victims, in exhibitions of fear, sorrow, stress, and exultation, and as indicators of heroes' emotional states or actions.[212] VF engages the long tradition of cattle similes by using and reinventing a handful of familiar types, adding nuances, touches of pathos or realism, and evoking relevant sounds in the reader's mind.

It has been argued elsewhere that VF's approach to simile is Virgilian in terms of type, length and development. He differs from Virgil, however, in frequency, treatment of subject matter, and placement in the text. Similes of cattle offer exemplify some of these aspects.[213] For example, VF's bull similes are clustered in and limited to certain parts of the narrative, an interesting feature in itself, with the last instance occurring in Book 5. After this point, there is only a very short cattle simile within a string of short animal references in Book 8, near the extant ending of the text. While similes of many types, including animal, tend to be more common in battle sequences than in other

[210]The effect of 'patterned imagery' is explained by R.J. Griffin (1964) 44: 'It is the interweaving of these sets—more accurately, the meanings and feelings that they summon up—it is the interassociating of the associations which constitutes the substructure of the narrative.' In the case of cattle similes in Homer, then, victimization and helplessness in the face of predators, and the foreshadowing of the defeat and death for the human warrior to whom the simile is applied, are associations established by the pattern in repeated images.

[211]Scott (2009) 55-6.

[212]Moments of struggle first seen several times in Homer, for example in Hom. *Il.* 2.480ff., 16.486ff.; victor/victim examples from several epics include Hom. *Il.*17.389ff; 20.403 ff, 495ff; Ap. Rhod. 2.88f.; Verg. *Aen.* 12.715ff.; Ov. *Met.* 2.623-5; Luc. 2.601ff; Stat. *Theb*. 3.330ff. See Gärtner's (1994) tables 324-34.

[213]Fitch (1976) 115, 118-119 and n.14 for his list of VF's similes.

contexts, VF does not use any cattle for similes in the most Iliadic book of the *Arg*., 6, nor are they found in Argonauts' battle with the Doliones in Book 3.[214] It can be argued that VF has therefore deliberately reserved them for non-martial narrative, already a departure from the *Aeneid.* Instead, they are clustered around other key moments of individuals' deeds and experiences, such as the Hesione, Hylas, and Amycus episodes.[215]

As has already been seen, animals in simile (their species, appearance, and behaviour) are to some extent dictated by the norms of convention. Yet bovine simile depictions in Virgil and beyond, especially in VF, are indebted to the multi-layered portrayals found in *DRN* and the *Georgics*. That is, more markedly than is the case with other species, the treatment of cattle in simile is dramatically altered by the intervention of didactic narrative previously mentioned above—the depictions of cattle in Lucretius and Virgil. Because cattle are animals with which some people had so much everyday experience, perhaps it should not be surprising that the development in representations of cattle in 'educational' narrative, themselves likely reflective of cultural developments in perception, might spill over into depictions in simile[216]. And, just as Virgil's thoughtful and sympathetic treatment of cattle in didactic narrative shaped his own later imagining of cattle in epic simile, VF explores the possibilities of departure from earlier models and patterns even further, adapting Virgil's inversion, expansion, and re-purposing of the Homeric models of cattle, and of bulls in particular.[217] Lion simile groups also exhibit patterns, but VF chooses single examples from different categories and focuses on the simile imagery, almost in isolation, in each instance, though the images do implicitly reference one another. In the case of bulls, he creates a self-contained pattern in which the similes interact with and build on one another in a more readily recognizable way.

More explicitly, VF develops a self-contained and self-consistent context for cattle within the *Arg*. which features two types of simile: those featuring bulls in the herd, and

---

[214]VF does, as was seen, use lion similes in battle narrative, and birds, in the scene of the mustering of troops in Book 6.

[215]Fitch (1976) 119-21 and n.18 (where he especially notes VF's departures from AR), and 121 n.17 on the concentration of similes in battle sequences in the *Il*.

[216]Though the genre would always dictate means of incorporation of representations of real-life animal-human interactions, requiring adapting and stylizing to suit the conventions of epic.

[217]Briggs (1980) 4, 7, 51-2, 92-3 and *passim*; see 11-2, where the distinction between Homer's 'objective' and Virgil's 'subjective' styles exemplified in similes is articulated; 18-19 and 26-7, where Virgil's 'humanization' of animals is also noted; 'In the *Aeneid*, [Virgil] will draw on these implied similarities [between humans and cattle] in similes that extend the comparisons beyond those of his poetic sources.' Briggs also notes AR's place as the first epicist 'to use the simile to express an emotion other than rage or fear', 12.

those with bulls which are isolated.[218] The existence of such a dichotomy is significant in itself, as the *Aeneid* does not feature two distinct, coextensive, patterns of imagery. Bovine similes in Ovid and Lucan no doubt have their place as intertexts of the passages discussed below, but it will be demonstrated that the arch-influence on the depiction of cattle in epic, and in simile in particular, is the *Georgics*, with the *Aeneid* sometimes acting a filter.

This section devoted to VF's set of cattle similes is divided into two groups based on numbers: namely, whether the simile animal is alone or with its herd. Since cattle naturally live in communities (the herd) and are domesticated, their social structure and behaviour are more easily observed by humans than flocks of cranes or geese. This communal aspect of bovine nature and behaviour render them especially apt, and flexible, for comparison with humans in various group contexts. VF's use of them in the group, furthermore, offers a foil to the appearances of cattle—always bulls—in isolation. The content of the similes themselves and the contrast between the two types allow for some application to individual and group dynamics on the human level, and provide narratological cues for interpretation of the relevant episodes and perhaps to the epic as a whole. VF's poem is often concerned with negotiation of power, and the instability of roles and identities due to the fluctuating nature of that negotiation. The themes of the bull simile set reflect this, and reveal VF's approach to the problem relative to other Latin authors' interaction with those themes, using bovine imagery to illustrate power and identity fluctuations and conflict.

When listed in the index, cattle simile references suggest an alternating of two distinct types. Some Valerian bulls are like the cattle of Homer, victims, though their suffering is portrayed much differently. Others seem to take after the bulls of *Georgics* 3: ambitious, jealous, strong, and in a way, self-disciplined, though these, again, are not used to describe characters or their actions in battle proper. Cattle as they appear in VF are grouped into these two basic categories of similes for the purpose of this section: the first group are similes whose bulls are alone ('lone-bull', 'L'), where VF follows the Homeric exempla, featuring cattle as victims of attack by other animals;[219] the second group features bulls and their relationship to the herd, either as Georgic-style rivals for

[218]For the creation of internal context unique to and within a text, see Addison (1993) 415: 'Particular texts develop their own symbolic effects by means of repetition and foregrounding devices.' Addison uses colour in *Othello* and *Moby-Dick* as examples of internal symbolic systems; she also notes, however, that Homeric similes are not functional at the level of symbol.

[219]This first group could be expanded to include the bereft, mourning cattle in the sequence of animal comparisons (to the distraught Medea) in 8.453b-7. See Fitch (1976) 114-5 for his mapping of phrase similes and developed similes across epic.

'kingship', or as established leaders ('bull heroes', 'H'). These images are arranged in such a way as to present to the reader, in order, alternating templates, within which there is some variation: L-H-L-H-L-H.[220] For our purposes, we will separate these six into two groups, omitting the third 'L' from the discussion as a simile describing the actions of goddesses, and therefore difficult to fit into the framework laid out below. Nonetheless it should be remembered that it is inserted between two 'hero' images, in the second quarter of the epic. The first three, alternating from L to H to L, are all deployed in passages centred on Hercules, while the last two hero similes occur in the text after Hercules is abandoned, and are used of other Minyae (notably, not Jason). Hercules' bull similes will be first closely read in chronological order, and then the themes—especially social implications—developed in them will be explored, followed by a section on the remaining two bull-hero similes.

i. There and Back Again: Bull Similes and Hercules

The first of the bull similes in the *Arg*. is also the first of a cluster of similes scattered generously throughout the Hesione episode. Earlier attached to the Argonautic tradition by Diodorus, VF's narration of the Argonauts' stop in Troy includes a prediction of the city's fall to the Greeks (2.570-3), and reinforces the Valerian formulation of the mytho-historical chain of events linking the *Argo* to the subsequent experience of the Trojans and the eventual rise of Rome.[221] The episode itself features Hercules' rescue of the Trojan princess Hesione. Her father Laomedon, the king of Troy, has been compelled to offer her up to Neptune's sea monster after reneging on a promise of payment for the god's assistance in building Troy's walls. Three out of seven similes in the cluster are used of the sea monster, which is compared to natural phenomena.[222] One applies to Hesione, and the other three, more or less, to Hercules. The Minyae are not aware of the state of affairs when they put into Dardania, and so VF's first bull simile helps to conjure the scene of discovery. As Hercules and Telamon explore the Trojan coast, hitherto untouched by Greek ships, an unfamiliar sound redirects their steps:

Alcides Telamonque comes dum litora blando

[220]This pattern does not count the presumable bovine victims of the Jason-lion simile in Book 6, nor the short comparison of Amycus' victims to sacrificial bulls, but the latter reference is discussed in the body text below. All similes and short comparisons are listed under Bull & Cattle Similes in the Animal Reference Indices.
[221]Clauss (2014) 111-2.
[222]By Gärtner's count; the similes for the sea monster are found at 2.505ff., 515ff., 522f.

anfractu sinuosa legunt, vox accidit aures
flebile succedens cum fracta remurmurat unda.
attoniti pressere gradum vacuumque sequuntur
vocis iter. iam certa sonat desertaque durae
virgo neci quem non hominum superumque vocabat?
acrius hoc instare viri succurrere certi,
qualiter, implevit gemitu cum taurus acerbo
avia frangentem morsu super alta leonem
terga ferens, coit e sparso concita mapali
agrestum manus et caeco clamore coloni.
constitit Alcides visuque enisus in alta
rupe truces manicas defectaque virginis ora
cernit et ad primos surgentia lumina flexus…

As Hercules and his comrade Telamon pass along the shore, full of curves
with its charming bending [path], a voice falls upon their ears
following on itself lamentably, while the broken wave again sounds.
Astonished they check their step, and follow the empty path
of the voice; for it sounds out clearly, and a maiden given up to a
harsh death was calling out [for] anyone of men or gods [to help].
The men pursue this [path] more keenly, determined to help;
just as, when a bull has filled the air with a bitter bellow,
bearing a lion, splitting [its hide] with its bite, upon
his high back, alerted from scattered hut[s]
a band of countrymen and farmers comes together with a blind clamour.
Hercules stops, and tilting his head back with a glance
he sees on a high cliff savage chains and the wan face of
the girl, and her eyes filling to [the brim with] fresh tears… [2.451-64]

The action being described, at least initially, seems to be the reaction of the men to an alarming sound, paired with the reaction of the farmers. Yet the comparison comes at the end of the simile, after VF has spent more than half of the passage describing the origin of the sound, a desperate animal-animal struggle. This lays the emphasis on the noise and its quality, both volume and register, communicating pain, fear, and

helplessness. Before the reader is led to imagine the quick-moving humans of the simile, his or her attention is instead shifted from Hercules and Telamon and focused on the animal, its cry and the reason for it: the bull carries its would-be killer on its own back. Though grammatically and structurally the simile elaborates on the bold reflexes of the Minyae and evokes the landscape filled with strange, even inhuman sounds, it serves more to set the stage for the struggle to come. The reader envisions the scene of attack in advance, while the simile maintains an air of mystery, not yet revealing the identity of the counterparts to the bull in the story (Hesione), or its antagonist (Neptune's sea monster).

For his first bull simile, oddly un-Virgilian, VF opts for an image characteristic of Homer, with which his later bull images strongly contrast. The effect of the bellowing-bull portrayal is fairly close to that of bull similes in the *Iliad*.[223] Iliadic 'bull-hero' similes are rare, and do not tend to elevate the heroes to whom they are applied.[224] In contrast, many are the similes applied to heroes in battle, particularly in their death throes, where the sounds of the bull or ox are a dominant feature. In these the animals are either victims of wild beasts or sacrifice, or are being put under the yoke by human conquerors.[225] On the human plane, this simile in *Arg*. is striking in its application to a young woman rather than to a heroic man. Elision of a dying (male) bovine with a young (female) human sacrifice may be modelled in Lucretius, where the sacrifice of Iphigeneia is evoked, again, by the sacrifice of the young calf and the subsequent emotional suffering of its mother.[226] Such a link is not so strong here, however, as this bull is not being used by humans in ritual, but is rather the prey of another animal, notorious for its power and aggressiveness.

Perhaps more significant is the fact that here, unlike the bull actors of the warrior similes discussed below, the bull is entirely isolated, with no herd in sight. A bull's strength and courage, so important in battle against his rivals or in crossing a river, does this particular specimen no good against the lion. Aid may come from the humans rushing forth in the second part of the simile, but no interspecies sympathetic tie is asserted. The bellow of the bull is the most important aspect of its struggle: it is sound that catches Hercules' attention and brings him to Hesione's rescue. Compared to warrior bulls in other passages, whose noises—hoof-stamping, bellowing to goad—are

[223]On the Homeric influence on VF's similes, see Garson (1969) 364, n.1, and on this passage, Gärtner (1994) 90-2.
[224]Scott (2009) 56.
[225]Esp. Hom. *Il.* 13.571, 20.403, 20.495. One notable exception is the River Xanthus, 21.237.
[226]Hutchins (2016).

vaunting, the cries of this bull signify desperation. Though the gender discrepancy is jarring, such an image suits Hesione's plight.[227] Still, the nature of the sound is hardly surprising, given its precedents, for example, the death of Sarpedon, where the vocal expression of the dying bull to which Sarpedon is compared is the most effective feature.[228]

Gemo correlates with στένω in the Homeric passage, terms used of the loud and low sounds characteristic of certain animals. The spectrum of meanings which include moaning, wailing, or lament in both *gemitu* and στενάχων, give the terms a shared emotional power. They also enhance the sound effect of the distressed humans to whom the similes are applied. In spite of the relative frequency of cattle depicted as victims in Homer, it is only bulls (not oxen or cows) that bellow. Yet bulls are only depicted as victims of predators in their herd context, whereas oxen or cows may be attacked or suffer alone. The Homeric bull in the Sarpedon account (bellowing, under the claws of a lion) is felled in full view of the herd, whose reaction is not described, while the powerfully built (*alta terga*) Valerian bull is utterly isolated so that only distant humans respond to his plight.[229] Bellowing here signifies not only desperation, but also Hesione's likely doom, since in the case of Sarpedon and the other Iliadic precedents, the crying cattle are either killed or thoroughly subjected under the yoke.[230] The channelling of the death of Sarpedon, while it does not map directly onto the situation of Hesione—she is not a warrior killed in battle—casts Hercules' killing of the sea monster in a martial light before the confrontation takes place, and by the same token elevates Hesione's suffering.

VF's unique blend of details highlights the desperate victimized bull in non-Homeric circumstances, contrasted with his own presentation of the bull in its stable social context, discussed further below. Under assault by the mauling lion, this image of the bull, herdless and invoking Iliadic associations, sets up an expectation of death or defeat, tied strongly to its isolation. Even in the *Thebaid*, a bull, having fallen prey to a lion, is mourned by his followers and the surrounding landscape, his status stated in

[227]Gärtner (1994) 92. Hesione (whose voice is likened to the bull's *gemitu acerbo*) is interestingly differentiated from her literary counterpart, Ovid's Andromeda, by the fact that she is *not* silent, Hershkowitz (1998b) 72-3.

[228]Hom. *Il*. 16.485-91a. It must be remarked, however, that the sound in Sarpedon's case is an expression of rage.

[229]Cf. Hom. *Il*. 17.61-4.

[230]Emphasis on sound: cattle (*oxen*) subjected to humans, 13.571, 20.403; River Xanthus like frustrated *bull*, 21. 237; *bulls* bellowing when facing death: lion, 16.486; sacrifice, 20.403. Similes without sound: lion attacking *cow* or *ox* apparently alone: 5.161-3; *cow* in the herd: 11.172-6, 17.61-4 (herdsmen and dogs react). Cf. Sil. *Pun.* 11.242-6, a steer attacked while in the herd.

language similar to the descriptions of the hero bull.[231] The stable, secure order illustrated by the similes of the bull in the herd is reinforced by the plight of the bull here. This is further emphasized by its close proximity to the first bull-hero, which appears next in the narrative sequence. After all, the Hesione episode closes with bull simile for Hercules, this time reversing the depiction of the animal as a vulnerable loner, turning it into a proud prince of the herd. In fact, details included in the Iliadic simile, omitted in the Valerian 'L' rendering in the passage just discussed, appear in the first 'H' simile instead, on which more presently. With his status and physical power now highlighted, his place in the herd noted, the bull simile is reoriented, and the death of the targeted bull, so to speak, never takes place. Hesione is rescued, and the bull image, reinvigorated, is more fittingly applied to her (male) saviour. Not only are the connotations confused in the matter of Hesione's gender and status, but also the bull-as-victim simile is a misdirection. Hercules will, after all, prove victorious, and the bull simile will be revised, from victim to victor, and from isolation to community.

The matter of gender, significant in the lion similes, is especially important at this juncture. Bull similes in Virgil and Statius, modelled on the battle of *Geo.* 3.215ff., feature conflict between rivals over heifers, which often form a gendered audience to the fight. In the epics, this has the effect of aligning or conflating political and erotic conflict, and passion and madness. In the *Aeneid*, bull imagery tends to blur boundaries between Aeneas and Turnus, while in the *Thebaid*, it suggests cyclical, insoluble violence especially between Polynices and Eteocles.[232] The narrated portion in the timeline of the simile bulls' conflict usually involves a chapter after a first duel, including the exiled bull's training for a rematch, the victor's expectation of his return, the moment at which they meet, and very rarely, the outcome. Furthermore, certain components are often present: the bull's physical features, strength, anger, and eagerness for the fight; threatening noises and bloody blows; naming of the locale and/or description of the natural landscape; the buildings where the animals are housed; the herd/heifer which the victor will gain; and sometimes the responses of the herd, the landscape, and even of humans, to the training or battle.

The imagery of such similes is arguably more standardised and yet more multi-faceted than in those in which bulls are victims. Compared to bull similes constructed

[231]Stat. *Theb*. 5.330-4. Spaltenstein notes that the sentiment expressed in this passage is actually similar to that of the Erginus bull simile, (2004) 404.
[232]Hershkowitz (1998a) 274-8ff.; Hardie (1993) 22-4, 46-7; Turnus and Turnus/Aeneas, Verg. *Aen.* 12.103-6, and 12.715-9; bull imagery for Polynices and Eteocles, Stat. *Theb*. 2.323ff., 11.251-6.

by Virgil and Statius, however, in three similes, VF only uses images of bull-heroes *after* a conflict has concluded, rather than during or in anticipation of battle. In addition, the heifer as a gendered spectator or object of desire—whether literal as erotic, or figurative as political—and cause for competition, has disappeared. This has the effect of simplifying the dynamic between bulls, which apparently mirrors the lack of relational complexity between the humans to whom the bulls are likened. Finally, the H-bull image is not applied to Jason but only to other members of his crew, reasons for which will be explored below.[233] This suggests that that this simile type operates differently in the *Arg.* from its parallels in the other Latin epics, where it is applied to the most central characters. The first Valerian bull-hero simile is that used of Hercules at the close of the Hesione episode, after Hercules has defeated and killed Neptune's sea-monster:[234]

> nec minus in scopulos crudique cacumina saxi
> emicat Alcides vinclisque tenentibus aufert
> virgineas de rupe manus aptatque superbis
> arma umeris. regem inde petens superabat ovante
> litora tuta gradu, qualis per pascua victor
> ingreditur, tum colla tumens, tum celsior armis
> taurus, ubi adsueti pecoris stabula alta revisit
> et patrium nemus et bello quos ultus amores.
>
> And immediately Hercules leaps forth onto the crags
> and the peaks of the rough rock and frees the girl's hands
> from the cliff [and] the chains holding her, and fits his arms
> to his proud shoulders; then seeking out the king he was crossing
> the safe shores with an exultant step, just as the bull, the victor goes along
> through the pastures, now with his neck swelling, now very lofty at the shoulder,
> when he returns to the high stalls of his accustomed herd
> and the grove of his sires, and those loves whom he has avenged in war.
>
> [2.542-549]

[233]See Lovatt (2014) 211. Lovatt here treats on the idea of the *Argonautica* as a 'team epic'; she observes that the group focus fades or shifts in the second half, which interestingly enough includes no leader-with-herd similes. Arguably only the *Theb.* is as group-driven.

[234]See Gärtner (1994) 93-101. The reader should also note that the intervening simile between the two bull images attached to Hercules compares Hercules to *himself,* 2.495f. The narrative function and effect of such an arrangement unfortunately cannot be explored here.

While several aspects of this simile are shared with those in other epics, the anthropomorphizing thrust of *patrium* suggests inheritance and birthright, a nuance not found elsewhere. What is more noteworthy is that the bull's rival and the action of the conflict are not mentioned at all. The appellation *victor* is the clue that this is another bull whose story mirrors and continues the narrative in the *Georgics*.[235] The imagery is so common in epic that the reader can supply all the background—the initial duel, the exile, the training, the return. But here, unlike anywhere else, the reader is also expected to supply or take for granted the whole of the rematch as well, and the victory of the previously exiled bull. Indeed, all the preparations and the moment of conflict have been thoroughly elided, not even summarized to reflect on Hercules' fight with the monster.

Violence is missing, and so is explicitness of gender: the non-feminine is not so pronounced as in Lucan's simile with his use of *tauri* (see note 248 below), but it is the practical gender neutrality in the reference to the herd, compared to the gendered language in the precedents, that is suggestive. The herd are *amores* rather than *amatae,* the action taken concerning them already complete in *ultus*.[236] VF has chosen to emphasize here not the angry heat of battle, but the exultation of victory, and even more, the restoration of things to the way they ought to be. The martial features of the bull are marked as he comes home, having already reclaimed what was his due. And while the reaction of the *amores* is not described, his implied obligation to them (rather than to himself) as the recipient objects of *ultus*, provides a strong emotional and relational contrast with the passage from *Aeneid* 12 and those in Statius. There the heifers, when they are mentioned, are frightened and uncertain, without will and a defined perspective, suggesting that the motives of the bulls are primarily self-focused, while the bulls themselves are essentially interchangeable. Here, however, the claim of Hercules' bull claim is given a moral authority not only by virtue of his strength and victory, but especially in the use of the terms *patrium*, *adsueti*, and *ultus.* Finally, these latter two words perhaps imply a more reciprocal relationship between the bull and his herd than is suggested in the parallel bull-hero similes. The primeval violence so pervasive in other such passages here gives way to a focus on the successful fulfilment of purpose after the battle: the restoration of the bull to his rightful place at home and

[235]Gärtner (1994) 96; also noted by Poortvliet, referenced by Hershkowitz (1998b) 75; Keith (2014) 275. This simile, in fact, seems only to have Latin, rather than Homeric, predecessors, with one possible 'weak' model (a short comparison) in AR 2.88-9; see Gärtner (1994) 94-6.
[236]Verg. *Aen*. 12: *iuvencae;* Ov. *Met.* 9.47-8: *nitidissima coniunx*; Stat. *Theb*. 2.323-5: *erepta iuvenca, rapta armenta.*

among his subjects. The peacetime context also in hindsight highlights the isolation of the first lone-bull simile, where the threat of violence is central, but between the bull and a predator species, and not imbued with martial fervour or purpose.

The bull's concerns are framed primarily by a social context, and this framing tends to bend some meaning back onto the outside narrative. Hercules' rescue of Hesione is a deed of heroic compassion rather than an act of war, and one to be rewarded with a special prize. The bull has won back his home and his 'people', having proven his right to lead them so decisively that the neutralized rival is never shown. While the physical impressiveness of the bull corresponds to Hercules' strength and stature, the predominant focus of the simile is the triumphant return of the bull and peaceful, restored relationships.

The significance of the bull's happiness in this communal context is demonstrated by the situation in the third bull simile, which shows the swinging of the pendulum back to the first type in VF's pattern, a lone bull in trouble. In a sense, in spite of the physical and relational proximity of Telamon in the Hesione episode, even then Hercules is very much a lone hero from a particularly prehistoric period in myth, a liminal civilizing agent who is himself not quite civilized. Nevertheless, by triumphing over the sea monster and rejoining his supportive friends, he is like a bull coming home. Yet, when he is vulnerable, and indeed about to be abandoned by the other Minyae at Mysia, he is compared again to a bull, but this time, the animal is alienated even from the landscape around him. Hercules' companion Hylas has been snatched by a nymph after following a deer alone into the forest. The deer is the animal instrument of Juno, who is ever intent on harming Hercules and taking him away from the quest. In a series of similes describing Hercules in his panic after the younger man has disappeared, including the big cat similes discussed in the previous chapter, Hercules is likened to a bull attacked by another animal, but something altogether different from the lion attacking Hesione's bull. In his first stage of response to the loss of Hylas, Hercules storms through the glades in alarm, desperate to recover him:

> ...comitis sic adficit error
> Alciden saevaeque monet meminisse novercae 580
> continuo, volucri ceu pectora tactus asilo
> emicuit Calabris taurus per confraga saeptis
> obvia quaeque ruens, tali se concitat ardens

in iuga senta fuga. pavet omnis conscia late
silva, pavent montes, luctu succensus acerbo 585
quid struat Alcides tantaque quid apparet ira.

...thus the straying of his companion worries
Hercules and warns him to remember his cruel stepmother. 580
Immediately, just as when, struck in the heart [with fear][237] by a
winged gadfly
A bull springs forth from Calabrian folds rushing through
every rough thing in his way, in such flight does he, burning, speed himself
toward the overgrown ridges: everywhere, all the witnessing wood fears,
[and] the mountains fear, what Alcides incensed by bitter sorrow 585
might contrive and what the great rage might prepare. [3.579b-6]

Though the bull is the target of an animal quite different from, and superficially lesser than, the lion, the gadfly's assault will not be surprising. The gadfly is an insect common in such similes as a dreadful annoyance, and has a sort of emotional advantage over animals many times its size. Virgil includes an impressive description and warning to the cowherd in *Geo.* 3.146-56 about the terror which fills a whole herd of cattle even at the mere sound of the gadfly's distinctive noise, *acerba sonans*.[238] The cattle in turn bellow in their panic. The effectiveness of the gadfly against whole groups of much larger animals is established by literary precedent, and yet the herd is missing in VF's simile.[239] In an appropriate reflection of Hercules' plight, VF again isolates the bull, targeted and driven to frenzy, effectively alienating himself from his surroundings through his panic.

The bull-gadfly imagery is operating at several levels, beyond the comparison of Hercules' circumstance to nature, including multiple myth and epic allusions as well as contemporary cultic significance. Io's torment is obviously invoked by the gadfly-harassing-bovine pair, while Juno's literal infuriating of Amata (via Allecto) in *Aen*. 7.341-405, which simulates Bacchic frenzy, is a conceptual parallel. This is due to the

[237]I here follow the interpretation of Spaltenstein, taking *tactus pectora* as figurative.
[238]Cf. again to Verg. *G*. 3.219: the haunt of the gadflies are the *lucos Silari*, which recalls the *magna Sila* where the beautiful heifer grazes.
[239]In Hom. *Od*. 22.299-30. The 'gadfly' here is in fact Athene holding forth the aegis: suitably compared with Ovid's 'gadfly' (n. 243 below) as a Fury, in tandem with consideration of VF's simile at 6.402ff. Parallel passages of the gadfly on the hunt in AR and Virgil demonstrate the small animal's power to frighten and incense, for even its sound alone can stampede an entire herd.

significance of the gadfly's sting in Dionysiac cult practice in Rome. The ὀίστρος—the gadfly, or more specifically, its sting (though here, *asilus)*—was not just a figural reference to the ecstatic inspiration of the god, but would eventually become the term for the impulse to mania attributed to Bacchus.[240] In this iconography, the god himself is aligned with a bull or a cowherd, while his followers are like the rest of the cattle. Indeed, the assimilation of Bacchantes to a herd is nearly literal in cases of practical impersonation of bulls by humans in some texts.[241] The Bacchic connotations, combined with VF's novel attribution of Hylas' disappearance to Juno, distinguish the Latin simile from its lengthier model in AR.[242] Both bull and gadfly here activate a reading through more complex literary and cultural history, which multiply and deepen the ties between the Argonautic Hercules and other characters, and evoke human ritual as well as livestock experience and behaviour.

Furthermore, the simile serves to explain the strong reaction of Hercules while legitimizing the poet's introduction of Juno's machinations as he embeds recognition of her actions into the narrative at the level of character perception. What incenses Hercules is his suspicion of Juno's involvement, coupled with his worry for Hylas: *comitis sic adficit error/Alciden saevaeque monet meminisse novercae*, 'Thus the wandering of his companion worries Alcides and warns him to remember his cruel stepmother', 3.579b-80. As in Io's case, or in that of animals, the memory or suggestion of the gadfly's presence suffices to agitate.[243] And, it is Juno's interference that is the real cause of disruption for each maddened character, Io, Amata, and Hercules. For Hercules' simile, the description of a human in *furor* as an animal in distress also works conversely if one considers the devastating effect of *amor* on both as developed in *Georgics* 3. Virgil's heifer of Sila and her suitors in the model bull-battle passage are explicitly called to mind by the detail that this mad Valerian bull is, like them, a native of Calabria. Cause and behaviour are not distinguished between human and animal,

[240]de Casanove (1983) 76-7; see 77 for the parallels between Io's experience and the characteristics of Bacchic trance. On Io in VF, see Clauss (2014) 103-4, Keith (2014) 280-5; on Io and Hercules in particular: Hershkowitz (1998b) 67ff., but esp. 200-1.

[241]de Casanove (1983) 78-9: the connection between Bacchic stimulation to madness, signified by the attack of the gadfly and/or the use of the ox-goad, and the reaction of Maenads paralleled with stampeding cattle, is actually elaborated to include the reflexive effect upon Bacchus himself in instances of his tauromorphism, 80-1. The reflexive effect of Bacchus' stimulus may be mirrored in Hercules' own mythic role as a sort of cowherd himself, similar to his lead-bull aspect in the previous simile, now turned upside-down as he is victimized by the animate ox-goad. For further connections between Bacchus and Hercules, see de Casanove (1983) 95, 101-2.

[242]The model simile is one of two appearances of the gadfly in AR: 1.1265-72, 3.276-7.

[243]On the affliction of Io's *mind*, Ov. *Met.* 1.723-6; Aesch. *Supp*. 17, 307-8 and *PV* 566ff. The use of the gadfly's sting to represent a psychological phenomenon is coupled with its literal painful effect in Io's story, as a parallel to the Fury's lash.

while the overwhelming impulse to madness is concentrated on the individual rather than the group. The focused and disparate desires of Juno are also highlighted. Suspicion of what is imperceptible and fear of what is unstoppable drives Hercules and the simile (now laden with greater meaning than in AR's version) on both the human and animal—bovine and insect—ends of a spectrum that is itself gradually narrowing.

The madness which isolates Hercules from his companions and surroundings, and which highlights the bull's vulnerability and alienation as an animal from his nurturing landscape, includes an additional nuance to the Virgilian exploration of the dangers of *amor*.[244] VF's use of Juno as orchestrator of the episode, resonating with the victimization of Io and Amata, credits divine meddling, rather than human passion or devotion, with the stimulation to madness. On the one hand, Juno's plot has separated Hercules from communal aid, impugning the epic's divine machinery. On the other, the lone ranging of Hercules, illustrated through a follow-up to the previous bull simile, highlights his separation from the rest of the Minyae. He had, like the bull-hero, been returning to the crew triumphant after a heroic feat. Now he journeys into the future without welcome or community. The herd, as will be seen, is what offers status and a safe context for the bull, as his leadership offers them stability and direction. Alone, the bull is not only the target of predators, but also vulnerable to the crippling effects of fear and madness (in the form of the gadfly, apparently transcendent, like the intervention of the gods—there is no way to resist it), thus condemned to purposeless wandering and terrorizing the landscape around him.

The contrast between the two bull similes applied to Hercules inevitably recalls the bull victim of the lion in the first simile of the Hesione episode. There, admittedly, Hercules is not compared to a bull, but to other humans responding to the bull's trouble. But what the interplay of these three similes does is to place Hercules and Hesione on the same nexus of vulnerability, which the two of them also share with the common animal in a repeated context: bulls in isolation. (Hercules is very much an individual who cannot seem to quite fit into the group.) The placement of the middle simile, that of the bull glorying in his victory, thus demonstrates how very quickly and unexpectedly a character's situation may change. The anxiety caused by the awareness of the vicissitudes of fortune, to which both animals and humans are subject, can nevertheless be mitigated, and the other two bull similes help to demonstrate how members of both species might protect themselves.

[244]See Gale (1991) esp.417-23.

ii. Bull Heroes: A Civic Model?

VF's striking avoidance of violence in the bull-hero simile through even small details was explained above.[245] Nevertheless, there are implications inherent in the simile's pedigree. With the bull-hero simile characterizing the duel between Turnus and Aeneas as the true epic precursor to VF's bull-hero similes, and given the Statian approach to the material, there is a danger that the epic may not be big enough for more than one 'bull'. Indeed, in VF Hercules' victory at Troy is met with a mixture of relief, and grief or anger.[246] The 'herd' referred to could represent the Minyae, though they are not paralleled with bovine witnesses as in *Aeneid* 12. And yet, the *Argo* cannot be Hercules' *regnum*, for it is Jason's by narrative necessity. As will be seen, the bull-hero, though a symbol of strength, is potentially unsettling, because of its associations with (repeated) conflict, madness, and violence. Bull-heroes cannot stable together, *una stabulare*. The seed of inevitable rivalry is latent but present, due both to tensions woven into the Argonauts' tradition since AR, and to the appearance of the bull itself.[247] The threat of Hercules' imposition on 'Jason's' epic has been discussed at length by others.[248] But since Hercules leaves the quest with a bull simile in which the bull is victimized by the gadfly, he is no longer a potential threat.

Yet the problem remains because the bull-hero imagery is used twice more. To address it, VF structures and distributes the 'H' similes in such a way as to gloss over the danger of violence. The set of bull-hero similes within the larger pattern together form a coherent picture which actually demonstrates the benefits of social interactions, rather than the threat of rivalry, which would be antagonistic to Jason's position and perhaps the goals of the journey. As a result, the bull-hero itself emerges with the potential for a more nuanced interpretation. The two final similes dealing with bull heroes highlight the contextual contrast between the earlier-discussed two lone victim-bulls and the bull-hero of the simile sandwiched between them. That contrast is whether the central bull is in the company of his herd. As noted above, the bull rivalry images in epic depict amoral violent conflict perpetuated in cycles of conflict, without prospect of resolution or peace.[249] Statius, for example, and VF both include more than

[245]Hercules' bull does not make noise, indicating fury, and with his battle done, does not rage with his horns, as does, for example, Turnus in Aen. 12.103-6. Hershkowitz (1998b) notes that Hercules recognizes the uselessness of a fight characterized by madness against the *ketos*, 76-7.
[246]V. Fl. 2.538-9, 550-1; 2.552-3, 2.536-7.
[247]Clauss (2000) 19-20; Hershkowitz (1998b) 105ff., esp. 111-8; Gärtner (1994) 88.
[248]Hershkowitz (1998b) *passim*; Gärtner (1994) 89; Castelletti (2014) 176-8; Lovatt (2014) 214-5, 219.
[249]Esp. Stat. *Theb*. 2.323, 3.330, 6.864, 11.251, 12.601; 7.436 is a parallel (and perhaps precedent) to VF's 4.195-8.

one permutation of the Virgilian imagery, though each poet appears to use the bull to illustrate different political truths.[250] VF has chosen closure over foreboding in his first bull-hero portrayal, sealing it with the bull's accomplishment, *ultus amores*. His rival is nowhere in sight, and the prize herd, including their redemption, is the last view of the simile.

The bull-hero simile that follows Hercules' despair—with the simile of the bull stung by the gadfly, the third in the L-H-L sequence—contrasts again with the previous lone-bull picture, and also departs from the first bull-hero example. VF re-presents the bull-hero in his social context, this time with no trace of rivalry narrative at all. With Hercules' departure from the quest, it might be expected that Jason would be represented by a leader of the herd, should the bull-hero simile be repeated. Yet VF deploys the simile type in another episode, like the rescue of Hesione, which showcases the feat of a yet another Argonaut, Pollux.[251] In Book 4, the Minyae find themselves in the land of the Bebrycians, a tribe ruled by Amycus, a Polyphemus-figure and son of Neptune who terrorizes visitors by challenging them to boxing matches, and then 'sacrificing' them to his father as if they were bulls when he inevitably beats them. His cave is decorated with trophies, the remains of his victims, a sight which initially frightens the Minyae. After the stranger Dymas has told the Argonauts the story of his friend Otreus, killed by Amycus, Pollux declares his intent to fight the outrageous king of the Bebrycians (191-2). His comrades follow suit, expressing eagerness (193-4) to face the foe:

> qualiter ignotis spumantem funditus amnem 195
> <taurus aquis qui primus init spernitque tumentem>[252]
> pandit iter, mox omne pecus formidine pulsa
> pone subit iamque et mediis praecedit ab undis.
>
> Just as a bull, [when] a river foams from its depths with 195
> unfamiliar waters, who first goes in and disdains the swelling,
> opens up a path, soon all the herd with its fear expelled follow behind him
> and even now go on ahead from the middle of the waves. [4.195-8]

[250]Ovid, Lucan and Silius feature one bull-battle simile each: Ov. *Met.* 9.46-9, Luc. 2.601-7 (which includes a strange detail: *victor comitantibus tauris trahit*), Sil. *Pun.* 16.4-10.
[251]See Lovatt (2014) 228.
[252]This line is supplied by Mozley. It is admittedly rather risky to draw too many conclusions from this simile, as this line which includes clear mention of the *taurus* is included only in MS C; but it is surely a model passage for the simile in the *Theb*.

Before discussing the bull and cattle, the problematic reading arising from the simile (as above) must be acknowledged. A bull leading a herd reminds the reader of Hercules' victory over the sea-serpent, and the fact that the herd is facing an intimidating natural barrier in the river, rather than a direct rival for leadership, provides a link with the sea, the sea-serpent's place of origin and the realm of Amycus' father Neptune. Nevertheless, the inclusion of *tumentem* recalls not only the rising coils of Hesione's assailant, but also the *colla* of the bulls in battle. Thus again arises the threat of rivalry, and confusion about identity. It is here where VF's intent for the bull comes into focus. The rank of the bull is less relevant than his function and achievement, which is the primary parallel between the bull and Pollux.

VF seems careful to avoid details which would overtly suggest rivalry, and the action of the bull is not only unique, but also redefines the bull-hero. Interestingly enough, the end of the simile serves not to link Pollux' heroism with that of Hercules. This is a point which is partially illustrated by reference to a counterpart simile at *Theb.* 7.435-40, whose cattle behave quite differently from those in the *Arg*. and thus offer an opportunity for contrast. Statius' simile involves a herd first led to an unfamiliar river by their cowherd. The bull assuages their anxiety by plunging in, as in VF.[253] The *Thebaid's* reader, however, does not see the cattle cross, but is only told that, to the cattle, the river seems narrower and less frightening than it did at first. Rather than merely taking the herd in tow, the Valerian bull's actions correspond to Pollux' in every detail, and the response of the herd is clearly depicted. The bull takes the first steps into the stream, and inspires his herd not merely to follow, but even to excel. It is not his position as much as his motivational power that makes the difference, and the simile shifts with the cattle's actions, from the bull to his herd. Likewise, Pollux' courage serves to spur on the Minyae, to remind them of their own positions as heroes, and they may be said even to overtake—*praecedit*—him. The herd shares a collective perspective, moves as a unit, and like the similes above, it is not explicitly gendered, and thus any complicating tenor of the erotic in their relationships is omitted.

This reading may at first seem too simplistic, for if the interpretation of line 196 is correct, it is only one of many bovine references scattered throughout the Amycus episode, characterizing the brutality of Amycus and the boxing match.[254] The repeated feature of cattle and bull attributes throughout the passage colours the simile, especially

[253]Cf. Ap. Rhod. 1.572ff., and note the short comparison at 4.674ff..
[254]See the Index for these references: 4.150-3 (cf. Hom. *Il*. 22.159-61; 230; 250 (cf. V. Fl. 1.420-3).

the bull that opens the path through the river. And while the connection with the previous bull-hero simile is reassuring, that positive connotation is potentially undermined by a pointed bull reference shortly before, which points to Amycus' superiority over his weaker victims, characterized as *segnes tauros*.[255] Depictions of lethargy and slowness, not surprisingly, are better suited to a bull in its 'older' role in Homeric simile, as the powerful prey that is yet not strong enough to withstand the onslaught of the predator.

VF nevertheless has introduced such grim undertones only to overthrow them in the simile: while other bulls may fall victim to, among other things, the sacrificial knife, likened to Amycus' terrors, the bull-hero in the river-crossing simile, without even a cowherd to lead him to the water, acts in defiance of the power of the stream and emboldens his herd to act in concert with him.[256] Pollux here stands out as a member who can inspire the Minyae to act together, their delaration of willingness to fight a familiar epic device, and yet a true demonstration of the quality of their shared character. They are a group of individual heroes with varying gifts, but Pollux' and the bull's success in exhorting their respective companies prove the heroic band is, after all, cohesive. By reserving the bull imagery for other Minyae, danger to Jason's position also is thus deflected, and the violence seemingly inherent in the motif is kept at a safe distance. Here there are no rivals, and the bull's leadership is not only clear, but also inspiring rather than intimidating or tyrannical. On a programmatic level, should the epic's themes comment on VF's political context, this may reflect positively on the Flavian regime, whose succession to power reverses the excesses and cruelty of the Julio-Claudians and can bring fragmented Roman society together, and perhaps even inspire.[257] The bull has moved beyond victimhood, and even beyond a kingship associated primarily with violence, his herd a passive prize. Here he is capable of setting an example to his followers, and is so unconcerned about rivalry or enmity that he allows his herd to go before him, if they are brave enough and capable of doing so.

Whereas VF emphasizes sure (singular) victory in the first bull-hero simile, in the

---

[255]On this passage see Hershkowitz (1998b), 78-91, esp. 88 n. 202; Deremetz (2014) 64-5. Also, as part of the thematic function of the Boxing Match, AR plays with multiple cattle references, e.g. 2.91.
[256]There may be something in the water reference here: the previous simile was used of Hercules who defeated Neptune's sea-serpent; Neptune's weakness is exemplified in 4.114-32, reminiscent of Verg. *G.* 3.237-41; Amycus may in turn be represented by the body of water the herd must overcome, just as the Minyae must cross his father Neptune's sea. The cosmic implications are hinted at in 4.327.
[257]For a positive Valerian reflection on the Flavians, see e.g. Buckley (2014), Clauss (2014), and esp. Stover (2012). For a more 'pessimistic' reading of VF's verdict on the new dynasty, see Heerink (2014), Bernstein (2014), and Ganiban (2014). For a 'cautious' optimism, cf. Castelletti (2014) 190-1.

second, the bull's community also displays notable courage, and again, they are the closing focus of the simile. Here, the bull's shared identity with, rather than his distance from, his herd focuses on the relationships between the cattle and their leader from a different angle. The bull is made like them when they demonstrate that they can act like him.[258] By the time the herd has crossed the river, it is the eagerness of all the cattle, and thus the Minyae, which is proven, for they surpass even the bull-hero in zeal. VF has expanded his positive perspective on the bull imagery: he uses the bull to symbolize not only strong and secure leadership, but also leadership that elevates the whole herd. As VF elaborates on the relational dynamic among bulls (or bulls and their non-gendered fellows), the bulls begin to form a moral tableau, characterized by an absence of civil or erotic strife, particularly violence, replaced by an image of mutually empowering and beneficial leadership. While at first the social interactions of the herd seems anthropomorphizing, when compared with the bull imagery in other epics (and the conduct of humans in the *Arg*. itself), Valerian bovine relationships actually seem to transcend the ever-troubled interaction between humans. This transcendence is rather simply demonstrated in the final H-type simile.

This last case occurs in close proximity to Pollux' simile, in Book 5. It features a bull-hero having, like the first, apparently recently claimed his kingship over the herd, and brings the new significance of the bull in his group into full relief. Unlike in the previous two similes, there is no trial or challenger against which the lead bull must prove himself and/or act on behalf of his herd. The Minyae have found themselves in need of a new helmsman after the death of Tiphys:

> Maesti omnes dubiique, ratem fidissima cuius
> dextra regat. simul Ancaeus sollersque petebat
> Nauplius. Erginum fato vocat ipsa monenti
> quercus et ad tonsas victi rediere magistri.
> ac velut i<lle> gregis cessit cui regia, taurus
> fertur ovans, hunc omnis honos, hunc omnis in unum
> transit amor. primo laetus sic tempore rector
> ingreditur cursus. etenim dat candida certam

[258]Again, Pollux is implicitly contrasted with Hercules: the Minyae affirm his divine heritage (327; see n. 37), while still noting his injuries (330-1). Pollux' pedigree is unquestioned, yet his wounded starry forehead betrays a shared identity with the rest of the (particularly fully human) Minyae. Hercules in Book 2 comes away from his own contest unbloodied (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3.330-5).

nox Helicen. iam prora fretum commoverat et iam
puppe sedens ... dimiserat ancora terras.

All were sad and uncertain of whose most faithful right hand
should steer the ship. At the same time Ancaeus and skillful
Nauplius were seeking [the post]. The ship itself, with fate exhorting,
calls upon Erginus, and the conquered helmsmen return to their oars.
Even as when that bull to whom the rule of the herd has yielded
is borne along exulting, to this one every honour, to this one all love
passes: thus this one joyfully as steersman for the first time
makes his way [to the rudder]; for bright night gives [forth]
sure Helice. Now the prow had stirred up the sea, and now,
idle on the stern, the anchor had abandoned the shore. [5.63-72]

When compared with AR's rather more involved passage, VF's solution to the Argonauts' problem is remarkably simple, and quickly executed.[259] Though there are several men capable of taking the helm, 'fate' (or Jupiter, whose oak is the source for the *Argo*'s ability to speak) has settled on Erginus. There is a choice to be made, but there is no description of a discussion amongst the crew, while the ship speaks and pre-empts debate. Both of these points stand opposite to AR's version, wherein Ancaeus is directed inwardly by Hera. In VF's scene, where at least two other men desire the position, fate, rather than Hera, has selected the new helmsman, and the conviction of the choice is public, rather than private.[260] VF has avoided any awkwardness of disagreement, and certainly has not undercut Jason's authority by positioning him against the destined replacement.

The simile, with its focus on not only unanimity, but even harmony, of the herd, is almost a surprise. AR's passage has no simile, and VF's exultant bull and his herd follows a description of the other heroes as *victi,* a rivalry quashed that is subtly suggested by the personal ambitions of Ancaeus and Nauplius. The divine revelation by which the Minyae know who is to succeed Tiphys is reflected in its first line: rather than requiring that the herd or a defeated rival yield the 'crown' to the bull, the 'royal things' (*regia*), as it were, yield themselves, *fertur* having no expressed agent. The choice is

[259]Ap. Rhod. 2.864-898.
[260]In VF the *quercus* speaks; in AR Hera injects (ἔμβαλεν) great courage into Ancaeus, which compels him to ignore Jason, for reasons firm/known only to himself: δὴ γὰρ θεοῦ ἑτράπεθ' ὁρμῇ, 2.895.

rendered objective or inevitable—the bull in charge is recognized as worthy of his rank, and respect and love seems to flow naturally from his subjects, which, unlike the humans, are not ascribed any competitive desires. *Fertur*, enjambed with *ovans*, links this passage to the victory march of the first bull-hero in Book 2, though here the reaction of the herd takes centre-stage, as in the bull-hero simile of Book 4. Political sensibility and social ties replace courage as the key element in the relationship between the bull and his herd.[261] From one simile to the next, the bull first proves his strength and mettle and takes command of the herd; the herd is then inspired to acts of courage by their leader; finally, the unity of the herd and their leader is emphasized, their bond natural (*transit*), political (*honos*) and personal (*amor*).

The many parallel passages in other Latin epics serve to highlight the uniqueness of VF's bulls' social circumstances. Throughout Statius, but also in Virgil and Lucan, the victory over the rival is never secure, and a potential war for the herd is always on the horizon. In the *Arg*., particularly in the simile accompanying the selection of Erginus, the bull's status, and the herd's political stability, is secure. VF not only chooses not to narrate the bulls' battles, but also avoids hinting that, at least in the herd context, the bull is to expect further danger or trouble, an undertone all too common elsewhere in epic. VF turns the bull's strength into a foundation for the stability and organization of the herd, rather than as a cause or feature of the constant threat of war between rival would-be leaders. VF avoids suggestion of direct conflict by using the bull to characterize Hercules, but not Jason, and in post-Book 2 instances, to highlight the heroic virtues of the Minyae in the context of their questing community. Each has an indispensable place in the poem and crew, but the contexts of the similes also delineate these positions, and Jason, never a bull himself, is thus never the potential victim of rivalry akin to that of bull-battle. VF rejects the wild and often gory aspects of the natural world in favour of using the bull and herd as a type of civic model. Given the almost omnipresent theme of civil strife in the *Arg*., indeed, throughout Roman epic generally, and the rage associated with bull battles, such an interpretation of the political significance of the cattle imagery may be optimistic.[262] Overall, however, the

[261]Though Jason himself might be suspicious of such a reading of group mentality, given his conviction at 1.171; see Spaltenstein (2004a) 404; but also cf. Barich (2014) 42, where the author takes a more optimistic view, opting for a literal reading of the herd's (and crew's) affection.

[262]Clauss (2014) 113; Bernstein (2014) 165-6. The notoriously tragic power of *furor* is glossed over at least, and at best, is never an explicit cause for the conflicts from which VF's victorious bulls have emerged. As observed elsewhere in this study, this type of bull simile drops out of the epic after the *Argo*'s arrival in Colchis, after which time, Buckley observes, '*furor* will not simply sit in shadowy counterpoint to the epic narrative, but will engulf it completely', Buckley (2014) 313.

presentation of the bull-hero and his relationship to his herd is consistent. In contrast to all other extant examples in epic, VF's troubling images and vocabulary are limited to similes in which bulls are isolated. Finally, his bulls, operating among their own kind on their own terms, can perhaps claim a certain superiority to humans, with a reflection of Lucretian and Virgilian philosophical considerations seen in the modelling of functional and healthy relationships.

Conclusion

Both reinterpreted perennial animal types are key to the *Arg.*'*s* exploration of heroism, particularly heroic power and relationships. The Valerian lion and lioness show a shift away from stock representations of these legendary predators, toward a depiction that is perhaps more realistic, and yet also more complex. Indeed, the evolution in the way these animals were imagined make them especially well-suited for comparison to epic heroes, whose own representations were always subject to significant reinterpretation and re-writing. As the Romans came to know more about the exotic in nature by bringing it 'home' and putting it on display, the resulting opportunity to relate to big cats in a more personal or experiential way allowed the motifs associated with them to evolve side by side with the literary developments in epic itself. This was particularly likely as epicists post-Augustus negotiated their position in their genre, as well as in a changing Rome under a principate that lacked permanence and predictability. Valerius' Jason, his men, and his quest represent choices between or a composite of traditional treatments of such people and subjects. Combined with VF's innovations, his cats embody a significant step away from Homer, and even Virgil. Lucan and Ovid, for all the animals appearing in their respective poems, make such sparing use of lions that it seems VF has single-handedly brought them back into fashion. But like the character of Jason himself, the animal most traditionally used for embodying the epic hero here also embodies 'antithesis' and 'antinomies'. As Jason is but a man, the complex range of animal behaviour and emotion, highlighted so uniquely by VF, is particularly fitting in an epic with such a humanizing tendency. Here moral dichotomies are broken down, and here Homer's animal embodiment of courage or Virgil's of pacing rage is no longer adequate.[263] Nevertheless, though their heroism may manifest anew in a different context, the identity of the mythic heroes and their places within the tradition which forms them are

[263]See Castelletti (2014) 188-9 for a summary of this idea.

preserved.

For example, Hercules, the semi-divine character to whom both the angry lion and bereft lioness motifs are applied, is perhaps made more human, less distant, in such powerful images of emotion and suffering expressed by the portrayal of varied animal experience. This imagery also suggests, on the part of VF, an awareness of and commitment to illustrating psychological complexity in both animal and human. Finally, though set in the remote mythic past, VF's presentation of lions seems to reflect real life in a time of political upheaval and profound social instability alongside traditional epic values. This reflection is clearest in the increasing convolution of virtue, instability of status, and emotional uncertainty as the characters love but often fail in trying to help one another. Courage, suffering, confusion, lack of self-control, helplessness, and grief, all dominate the heroic experience when the age-old lion appears. In spite of opportunities for new and old modes of heroism, 'moral uncertainty' and the lack of reassurance of glorious purpose are the prerogatives of the Valerian feline image, as the lives and perspective of animals and humans are aligned more closely together, through ever more similar subjective experience.[264]

This alignment is is rearticulated in the bull similes. The messaging there, once again using Hercules as a sort of control character for different scenarios, would seem to address the problematic aspects of heroic identity and suffering illustrated in the lion imagery. The context of the group itself is posited as an answer to failed or compromised heroism and to defeat and death: the cohesive group not only provides for the protection of the individual, but also provides each member with the opportunity and support to achieve his potential without the threat of rivalry. Whether such a group could persist amongst humans, in the epic or in the real world, is not explored. But while the fable cited at the beginning of this chapter sees an enemy deliberately undermining group cohesion and loyalty, VF's bull imagery, especially with respect to group dynamics, is applied to the Minyae working together and at their best. VF sees beyond the violence of the bovine world so definitive for cattle imagery in other epics. Instead, he has conceived of the herd and its assertive leader as a relational model for civic health. In a fresh conceptualising of an animal society he figures group harmony and achievement. Furthermore, the lack of gender complexity in the bull similes simplifies the presentation of the themes: on the one hand, there is security in numbers. Community allows for development of good leadership and expression of virtue.

[264]Themes inherent in Jupiter's prophecy, as argued by Ganiban (2014) esp. 260-3, 267-8.

Isolation, on the other hand, leaves even the strongest open to attack.

VF's careful and varied adaptations of the contexts, relational dynamics, behaviour and emotions attached to these two most patterned species points to their re-purposing for his poetic project. These adaptations, however, also reveal an insight, perhaps original to VF, into the emotional and relational lives and potential in the most wild and/or stereotyped of animals. And this insight proves apt for the reshaping of epic tropes for a Roman *Argonautica*, in which the treatment of the familiar of myth must resonate with the political present. Similes evolve along with epic, and Valerian innovation sees pronounced parallel development on the levels of theme and figure written in a context in which older, even tired, epic forms may not be appropriate for recent political developments and confusion. But old animals have benefited from fresh interpretations and applications of their nature and interactions: the changing circumstances across the lion similes emphasize the coexistence of traditional stability alongside innovation within epic, the constancy of heroism alongside instability of heroic identity and expression in non-traditional contexts, and the growing complexity of the hero's inner, especially emotional, life. Bulls in their turn enact a bloodless pageant of homecoming, heroic leadership and group dynamics where violence is elided and forgotten, and peace, unity and mutual affection is the balm for past rivalries and uncertainty. With new guises and behaviours the epic animals themselves point humans, wrestling with national trauma and new power paradigms, to possibilities for heroic action, maintaining and adapting identity, and social cohesion.

PART II: ANIMAL-HUMAN DYNAMICS.

Chapter 3. Animal-Human Interactions: Predation & Partnership.

‘ “My dear Hwin,” said Aravis rather scornfully. “As if anyone could mistake Bree for anything but a war-horse however you disguised him!”
“I should think not, indeed,” said Bree, snorting and letting his ears go ever so little back.
“I know it’s not a *very* good plan,” said Hwin. “But I think it’s our only chance...if we get well plastered with mud and go along with our heads down as if we’re tired and lazy...we might not be noticed.”
“My dear madam,” said Bree. “Have you pictured to yourself how very disagreeable it would be to arrive in Narnia in *that* condition?”
“Well,” said Hwin humbly (she was a very sensible mare), “the main thing is to get there.”
-C.S. Lewis, *The Horse and His Boy.*

In this chapter, animal subjectivity as established in the similes of Chapters 1 and 2 is developed on the plane of the narrative, or on a simile plane where the animal and human spheres intersect, in animal-human dynamics. Needless to say, in these passages, both narrative and simile, animals and humans meet, interact and relate. These interactions and relationships shape the worlds and lives of both, and of course direct contact creates interspecies experience. Human initiative in particular shapes these relationships and co-experiences, yet animal subjectivity is still highlighted through VF’s portrayal of the impact of human activity on animal life. The discussion here will elaborate on animal subjectivity and experience as it is affected by, and explicitly juxtaposed with, that of humans. Especially in the narrative action, animals feel and perceive beside, with, and sometimes instead of humans, and their perceptions even drive the action and channel thematic meaning. Indeed, the subjectivity of animals is not merely asserted as being like that of humans. While humans, depending on the context, are sometimes denied their individuality, subjectivity, and even humanity, animals themselves sometimes take the place of humans in plot events, epic relationships, and intertextually complex roles in programmatic and paradigmatic episodes.

Several of these interactions are characterized either by human exercise—often violent—of power over animals, while others exemplify a very close relationship between the humans and animals which, in VF, sometimes approaches the intimacy of that between humans depicted elsewhere in epic. The exercise of power over animals in

epic is especially clear in the sacrifice of (reluctant) animals in ritual, in hunting, and in the breaking of livestock for labour. The dynamic between animals and humans in sacrificial and hunting contexts is the focus of the first half of the chapter, with animal perception brought to the fore while human moral authority and efforts are questioned or diminished. The striking contrast of animals working in partnership or even friendship with humans make up the second half, which also demonstrates VF's juxtaposition of the honour accrued by animals with the cost to them in suffering as a result of their close association with humans. Using animal subjectivity as a springboard, this chapter explores how the literary function of the interactions between animals and humans in the text informs interpretation of the text as a whole, both generically, as VF moulds previous incarnations of animals and animal events to his project; and thematically, particularly with regard to the themes of power and warfare, but also companionship. The results may invite a renewed interest in, if not assessment of, assumptions about Roman attitudes toward animal-human relationships, and perhaps also attitudes of today.

a. Predation: Sacrifice & Hunting.

As is suggested by this chapter's major subheadings, Predation and Partnership, animal-human interactions span a range of relationships, and the two halves of this chapter reflect the reality of the jarring contrast between the extremes of that range. The power and relational dynamics between humans and non-humans depend on multiple factors, including especially the context of the interaction (in the home or in the wild), the species of the animal (deer or horse, cow or dog), and sometimes even on the animal as an individual (lap dog or working hound). The first half focuses on VF's exploration of animal experience as subjected to human exertion of dominance or interference—as humans take on various types of the predator role—with the most extreme consequences for the animal: death.

i. The Necromancy Bull: Empathy & Control.

In *Arg.*, cattle sacrifice can be traced as a motif through the journey at nearly every stop, and even before the *Argo* departs. In Book 1, there is first the double-prophecy of Idmon and Mopsus, and later the promise of offerings should the *Argo* be spared in a storm; the Lemnian women are possessed by an Allecto-like Venus as punishment for having neglected to sacrifice heifers on her altars in Book 2; the episode at Cyzicus sees

both the funeral (without games) and the expiatory sacrifice prescribed by Mopsus in Book 3, while Book 4's Amycus 'sacrifices' his human kills to his father Neptune as if they were cattle.[265] These various sacrificial references serve a number of functions in VF's poem, not least setting the tone for the levels of conflict. Indeed, the many thematic angles of sacrifice in Latin epic include the overlap, and even confusion, of sacrificial and martial violence; instability and confusion of identities (human and divine), especially between (substitutionary) victim and sacrificant; and will to self-sacrifice, often frustrated. In battle episodes represented as or mirroring sacrifice, there is often a merging of identities between killed and killer, avenged and avenger, and frequently a Furial element which promises retribution and a self-fuelling, endless cycle of violence.[266] But in VF, one of the more revealing episodes of sacrifice illustrates several of the thematic elements of epic sacrifice, and merges the plight of the (literal) victim and sacrificing agent—animal and human—in unprecedented ways. This scene is the only one in *Arg*. that encourages the reader to consider the emotions of a natural bull in the plot, emphasising the animal and its perspective on the event. At the same time, the event also provides VF with an opportunity for articulating in a new way—via philosophy—an old distinction between humans and animals that, ironically, might provide an apologetic for use of animals in sacrifice, were it not for VF's implicit questioning of its validity through the very staging of his scene.

This passage is the necromancy conducted by Jason's parents at the end of Book 1, which includes the sacrifice of a bull whose description seems to channel passages from both didactic and historic epic from Lucretius to Lucan, and to draw together threads from VF's political context and traditions from the staging of tragedy. Here Jason's parents sacrifice a bull as part of a necromantic ritual in the hope of gaining insight into the quest's outcome. The end of the scene takes an abrupt turn, as, having learned what they wanted to know, Jason's parents—with an enraged and murderous Pelias approaching—commit suicide and enter the gates of Elysium, bringing Book 1 to a close. While other traditions included the death of Jason's father Aeson by various means, this necromantic material is neither present in nor associated with the Argonautic myth up to this point. This group suicide has also been recognized as important because of its contemporary (post-Julio-Claudian if not Flavian) political and philosophical resonances, the potential of which is highlighted by the fact that it is a

[265]V. Fl. 1.188-92, 1.677-8, 3.335, 3.412, 4.337ff.
[266]Hardie (1993) esp. 22-6; 28-30; 33-4; 40-8.

Valerian innovation.[267] VF also uses the scene to 'experiment' with modes of non-epic genre, including tragedy, at times centred solely on the presence of the animal.

The Victim: Fear & Foreboding

The plight of bovine sacrificial victims had already been explored and depicted with sympathy by Lucretius. More precisely, the experience of a mother cow whose calf has been sacrificed is detailed, namely her distress and fruitless search for her baby (*DRN* 2.352-66).[268] In turn, Lucretius' influence on the anthropomorphism of Virgil's animals in general, and on the representation of devoted cattle in particular, is clear in the *Georgics*.[269] In the two authors' provocative portrayals of bovine sacrifice, only the dire physical effects are described, in both a normal (*DRN*) and an abnormal rite (*Geo.* 3.486-92). The emotional aspect is explored in the experience of the mother in Lucretius, while anthropomorphized bovine emotion in Virgil is found rather in the account of the plague among the yoke-mates, some lines after the bungled sacrifice.[270] The sensitivity of animals to abnormal or un- or supernatural events or locales attributed to them in Lucretius, however, and the anthropomorphic emotions of cattle in both didactic passages, are combined in the bull chosen for the ritual by the witch and/or Jason's parents in *Arg*. 1.[271]

And they, Aeson and Alcimede, have arranged the necromancy. Anxious to learn what will become of Jason on his quest, they have assembled at night in a grove, perhaps with a witch as assistant, to consult the shades. Blood and various other unspecified offerings are dedicated to Phlegethon, and after the speaking of a spell, the ghostly face of Aeson's father Cretheus appears (1.730-40). Cretheus first tastes the blood of another victim, then speaks, reassuring Aeson and Alcimede that Jason will reach his goal, and hints at the cosmic consequences (741-6). But he then quickly turns his attention to the more pressing matter of the rage of Pelias, who blames Jason for having brought Acastus along on the expedition; Cretheus' advice to Aeson is that he escape and join Cretheus in the underworld through suicide (747-51). Rumour

[267]On the contemporary relevance of this scene and the (political) suicides in particular, see Clauss (2014) 108-9.
[268]Massaro (2014) 52-4.
[269]Gale (2000) 103-5; Gale (1991) 417-18, esp. 422.
[270]Briggs (1980) 31-2 on Verg. *G*. 3.417b-8. Lucretius is very brief about the experience of the calf on the altar, mentioning only 'panting blood', *sanguinis expirans calidum de pectore flumen,* 2.354.
[271]Lucretius describes the effect of *averna loca* on birds and land animals, which seem suddenly to fall prone as if dead simply by coming into contact with contaminated atmosphere in what humans have (wrongly) believed to be sacred spaces, Lucr. 6.738b-59; Gale (1991) 415.

meanwhile comes to Aeson and Alcimede with the news that Pelias is already approaching to avenge himself on Jason's family. Though Aeson first hesitates, weighing his options (752-61), he chooses the route suggested by Cretheus, in which his wife vows to join him, and turns his attention back to the ritual (767b-774a). Other scholars have hypothesized about what prompts this necromancy and accompanying suicide, new to the Argonautic plot, particularly in relation to its Roman philosophical and political echoes, on which more presently. Whatever the reasons, Cretheus' prophecy represents in small the ambivalence that permeates so much of the epic: there are promises of success and glory, but the price is high, and the tension between the achievement of short-term goals and the threat of long-term unhappiness is never far beneath the surface.

Ambivalence may also be latent in the strange timing of the next step of the ritual itself. The bull, unexpectedly, is still alive, and Aeson seems to mark this. There may be a narrative function in the order, in that the bull's death is placed in close proximity to the participants' speeches. Practically speaking, the bull may be necessary to allow Cretheus to return to the Underworld, though that begs the question of what kind of sacrifice enabled his conjuring in the first place.[272] Nevertheless, Aeson's prayer indicates that he hopes the bull's blood will be sufficient for the whole family to cross over (1.789-90). For our purposes, the bull itself, set apart as special, demands a closer look. While Aeson, having made his choice, is about to take action—*ergo sacra novat*—VF pauses the scene, briefly widening the reader's view to reassert the atmosphere of the landscape, then narrowing in again to give the reader a good look at the animal, in its own way striking and grim:

> …veteris sub nocte cupressi
> sordidus et multa pallens ferrugine taurus
> stabat adhuc, cui caeruleae per cornua vittae
> et taxi frons hirta comis; ipse aeger anhelans
> impatiensque loci visaque exterritus umbra.
> hunc sibi praecipuum gentis de more nefandae
> Thessalis in seros Ditis servaverat usus...
> illum ubi terrifici superesse in tempore sacri
> conspexit, statuit leto supremaque fatur

[272]See Parkes (2013) 170.

ipse manu tangens damnati cornua tauri…

...Under the darkness of an old cypress,
sooty and pale with a deep dark colour, a bull
was still standing, through whose horns were [woven] dark-blue fillets
and whose brow was rough with the foliage of the yew; that same was
troubled, panting
and impatient of the place, and frightened by the sight of the shade.
By the custom of her unspeakable class, this bull foremost
The Thessalian had kept [special] for these late practices for Dis...
When [Aeson] observed that the bull still lived at the time of the terrible rite,
He devotes him to destruction and speaks final words,
Touching the horns of the doomed bull with his hand… [1.774b-780, 785-7]

The details surrounding this bull are unique and strange. Animals sacrificed to nether deities or in chthonic rituals ought to be dark, whether cattle or sheep, and the colour description usually involves use of a single colour-term in a passage: variations on μέλας in Homer, and *ater, niger/nigrans,* and *obscurus* in Latin authors other than VF.[273] VF's description of the bull is complicated, using three different terms for the colour(s) of the bull's body.[274] This chain of adjectives makes it difficult for the reader to envision the animal, while at the same time prolonging and even compelling imaginary focus on the bull's appearance. It also reveals a clear intervention in the narrator's direction of the reader's gaze to different objects and events in the scene, and is exemplary of the 'theatricality' of Flavian epic, especially in depictions of ritual, which are often dramatically staged.[275] The influence of tragedy in terms of the atmospheric presentation and effectiveness of ritual activity—often in failed or perverted sacrifices—in epic can already be seen in Virgil, and here in VF tragedy helps to set the tone, directing the gaze, shading the scene and shaping perception.[276] The bull draws, even demands, the reader's attention, while narratorial technique demands

[273]Hom. *Od.* 10.527-8a, 11.32-3; Verg. *Aen*. 5.96-7, 6.153, 243ff; Ov. *Met.* 7.244; Stat. *Theb.* 4.445-6; Sil. *Pun*. 1.119-20, 13.429-30. See Norden (1957) 198-9; Horsfall (2013) 218. Also note Servius' comments at Verg. *Aen*. 6.251.
[274]The use of the word *ferrugine* in combination with another colour word is seen in Ovid and Virgil in the same context: the state of the celestial bodies after the death of Julius Caesar, Verg. *G*. 1.467, Ov. *Met.* 15.789.
[275]Lovatt (2013b) 55-7.
[276]With ideological messaging inherent, Panoussi (2009) 3-5.

interpretation and response. Furthermore, the apparently contradictory colour terms, typical in VF with his use of tight contrasts of light and dark, seems to conflate the bull's emotional state with its coat, perhaps indicating that it is 'phasing' from the world above to that below.[277]

There is no parallel to or precedent for this passage in AR, so intertexts and potential sources of inspiration must be sought elsewhere. It is possible that the bull's appearance blends details from a similarly dark scene in Lucan, and surely the gruesome details in VF cannot but channel Lucanian effect. Erichtho in Lucan's necromancy offers no sacrifice. The bull sacrifice conducted by Arruns, however, in his haruspicy in *BC* 1.608-23 shares several features with VF's passage above, in which terms and tones in common with Lucan have been underlined.[278] VF actually tells the reader more about these details, e.g., the fillets on the bull's horns. Of course, the mix of colour tones is woven throughout both passages, yet in Lucan the pale term is once applied to the haruspex Arruns, while all other colours are describing what is *inside* the bull rather than its outward appearance.[279] Arruns' fear and the pale hue associated with it are moved forward in VF's narrative, being applied to the bull in tandem with its otherwise dark colouring. If the supposition that VF's bull is 'parti-coloured' holds true, then VF has taken the mottled character of a liver of bad omen and made it visible, on the hide of the animal. Since this particular ritual would not have been accompanied by a haruspicy, the bull's appearance and behaviour is thus used to communicate the possibility of failure or coming mishap.

The details of colour are also accompanied by Lucan-influenced verbal ideas, and both colours and action point to a transfer of emotion not only from Lucan's Arruns to VF's bull, but from all such scenes' typed human spectators to the animal. The above-mentioned focus on the bull and the narrator's explicit statement of the animal's emotions is without precedent, and without following in either Statius or Silius. The reactions of the many victims in these other chthonic rituals in epic are never described, and it is left up to the human onlookers, like Sextus in *BC* 6.667-8, to convey the fright which usually accompanies such an experience of the nether-divine.[280] Here, the effect is not merely physical: the bull's fear allows the readers to see Cretheus' appearance

[277]Barich (2014) 44, esp. nn. 38, 39; the bull in l.775 has already taken on 'infernal characteristics', as Zissos puts it, (2008) 397.
[278]Though Erichtho mentions plenty of past practices, including sacrifices of (unborn) human infants, for which the Eumenides, the Fates, Persephone et al. owe her, 6.706-11. Necromancies in Flavian epic naturally owe much to Lucan's scene, Parkes (2013) 169-71, 174. Cf. Zissos (2008) 381: 'VF characteristically shuns the baroque excesses of Lucan's account'.
[279]Cf. Ov. *Met*. 7.593-601,

through the usual generic lens, combining the fear of the usual human spectator with Arruns' unwilling sacrificial victim who must, in the end, be compelled to 'consent', 1.611-2, highlighting both the reality and strangeness of this private ceremony.[281] The bull plays two roles in the scene, as both sacrificial victim, and as spectator, taking the place of humans in parallel passages.

Unlike in the case of the Promethean vulture, for example, the effect is not achieved by focalization via animal.[282] The narrator interprets the bull's behaviour for the reader, dwelling for several lines on the bull's appearance, sensitivity, and identity. In so doing, the animal's appearance and attitude have been used to (re)direct the reader's gaze and empathy. This redirection serves to characterize the entirety of the scene itself by suggesting links with both tragedy and inappropriate or failed rituals elsewhere in epic. Then, VF places Aeson in the reader's position, noting Aeson's reaction as he sees the bull and realizes it ought not still to be there, or at least, not still breathing. Aeson does not take the bull's fear into account; the bull is there to serve a specific purpose, and after the pause in the action, it is time to complete the rite.

The Sacrificant: Reason

The sudden turn from the bull as sympathetic object, to the human looking and then taking control within the scene, emphasizes the power of the human, with the subjugation of animal suffering to human interests. The timing and staging accentuates Aeson's initiative in directing the death of the bull.[283] At the same time, his words and the presence of the Fury occlude the actual killing of the bull, which supports the reading of the scene as an echo of tragic staging, as visible enactment of violence even against animals was traditionally unacceptable in dramatic performance.[284] The jarring two-pronged nature of the relationship between the victim and sacrificant is established by the quick shift between contrasts—the visually compelling, frightened animal, with

[280]See Luc. 6.669 ff.; Ap. Rhod. 3.1037-1041; Stat. *Theb*. 4.489-99; Sil. *Pun.*13.435-6, 449; and cf. Verg. *Aen*. 6.263; Sil. *Pun.* 1.101-4.
[281]For possible further influence of Lucan here, see Hardie (1993) 56.
[282]See Mackay (2019).
[283]While necromancies can hardly be claimed as commonplace in Roman religious (public or state) practice, Aeson's motion is reminiscent of the public images of priests taking hold of bulls' horns at altars. A depiction prevalent in early imperial art, it is one which demonstrated the ever-developing interaction between religious practices and political power structures, and the stability of the community as bolstered by observance of ritual, esp. during the consolidation of power in the early principate discussed in Zanker (1990) 90-2. VF focuses on this aspect—the grip on the animal's horns—and thereafter glosses over, with the insertion of Aeson's prayer and curse (784-811), the process typically required in real-life scenarios of bull sacrifice.
[284]Sommerstein (2010) 33-7, esp. 35-6; see also Hardie (1993) 36 on the influence of dramatic staging on Virgil in the suicide of Dido.

its anthropomorphic echoes, even human 'role', and the seemingly cold, business-like gesture of the human, who is himself apparently left with little choice as to his future and little chance of success. Indeed, plans and wishes for suicide, particularly the will to die on behalf of another, are thwarted again and again in epic.[285] If the focus on the bull suggests the failure of ritual, the choreography of Aeson's action counters this with an assertion of control and purpose.

Aeson's apparent lack of empathy (or lack of apparent empathy) for the bull highlights an additional contrast between himself and the animal. Here, a powerful and visually impressive animal, chosen out from the herd for this purpose, is shaken by the sight of the shade to both an audible and visible terror.[286] VF uses the bull to add a few belated touches—visual, auditory, and emotional, which refocus the attention on the chthonic nature of the ritual, reverting the perspective from the quest to the moment, to the dark and bizarre. Yet the deliberate delay of the portrayal of the bull's reaction to the ritual, and its death, places them in closer proximity in the text to Aeson's and Alcimede's suicide, and invites a closer look at the relationship between the two parties' emotional states.[287] The juxtaposition of the bull's emotions with the human decisiveness addresses the threat of bad omens, condensed from Lucan's account, and preceding failures, as well as the inherent distinction between animal and human, demonstrated in the humans' success in death and entry into Elysium. The desperation of Aeson's and Alcimede's plight is stressed, and yet this is precisely what gives VF's characters and their convictions singular power: they are successful in their will to die. Also, in keeping with the Stoic turn of the passage and the suicide, the bull's typical reaction is contrasted and corrected by Aeson's and Alcimede's capacity to understand their circumstances and choose their own mode of death.[288] VF may be expanding the detail of the bull's blood as included in other accounts, reminding the reader of Pelias' past control according to other mythographers, and then deliberately putting power into the hands of Jason's parents.[289] Here, though, death is the couple's choice, not an end forced upon Aeson, for example, by Pelias with poison.

The bull's behaviour offers a supplement and contrast to the attitudes of Jason's

[285]Hardie (1993) 49-50, 52-6. And Pelias still rages when he arrives, ordering the mutilation of Jason's brother Promachus.
[286]The implication may be that Aeson and Alcimede, being just and virtuous, have nothing to fear even from the infernal, but are right to suspect injustice and violence from Pelias. Of course, they likely are also afraid for their other son Promachus, not far away.
[287]Zissos (2008) 397, 401.
[288]Buckley (2014) 309; Clauss (2014) 108; also Zissos (2008) 380ff.
[289]Diodorus Siculus and Apollodorus, see Zissos (2008) 408, notes on ll.815-7.

parents, allowing VF to explore, and his readers to experience, the different causes of fear in the scene for its different players, animal and human. This animal, and perhaps others elsewhere in the poem, could therefore be tools of VF's process of what has been called the '"psychologisation" of the Argonautic story', the imbuing of the poem with emotive forcefulness and dramatic turns, which Barich argues are components of VF's further development of 'Virgil's "subjective style"'.[290] More pointedly, the original and elaborate details included by VF illustrate the presence of a gap, in spite of the shared emotional sensibility, between the limits of 'beast' and the best of humanity in a hopeless situation: rationality and courage. Such a comparison perhaps begs a second glance at potential connections between the frightened bull and the alarmed Pelias of 1.700-29. The simultaneous comparison and contrast between beast and human both evokes the tension between the anthropomorphizing of animals—especially in their suffering—which merges animal and human in the *Georgics*, and the distinguishing factor, rationality, also earlier asserted by Lucretius.[291]

Death: Shared Experience, Divergent Interests

Yet the Lucanian echoes and the inside-out omen on the bull's hide cannot be nullified by this apparent success. Even here, the triumph of good over evil, virtue over tyrant, is enigmatic, and worthy of further consideration in light of the proven difficulty in 'pinning down' VF in terms of his or the narrator's view on power and the state. This atmosphere of uncertainty lingers over much of the *Arg*. Furthermore, the violence suffered by the bull as a method of payment compels consideration of the successful suicide in the context of sacrificial violence. Also significant, Pelias' dismemberment of Jason's younger brother Promachus evokes the death of another youth in a sacred precinct, Apsyrtos in AR 3. Finally, Aeson's curse, sealed with sacrifice (of himself as guarantee?) and witnessed by the nearby Fury, in spite of the escape of the couple and their reward in a happier realm, reminds the reader that this scene of sacrifice is one of a generic tapestry of cyclical, chaotic violence where moral distinctions are blurred or even obliterated. The enterprise of the humans, even when they are apparently 'in the right', requires a victim of ritually sanctioned bloodshed, which by its epic nature threatens the repetition of violence in other arenas in the poem. Nevertheless, in the

[290]Barich (2014) 42ff.
[291]Gale (2000) 90, 94-6, 101-2; also see 105 on the 'wanton cruelty' of animal sacrifice; see Massaro (2014) 47-9 on Lucretius' devaluing of human rationality, and 53-6 on his messaging regarding human fear and impiety, contrasted with animal serenity and observance of the law of nature in the pairing of the sacrifice of the calf with Iphigeneia.

necromancy episode, the strategic placement of a unique animal is key to articulating an angle of interaction between religion and philosophy, accompanied by an evolution of expressed empathy and sometimes sympathy with animals in literature. Whereas the themes of substitution and shared identity in other epics concern the dynamics of violence between humans, the necromancy bull, an heir of didactic depictions of bovines which stress their shared nature with humans, especially in contexts of suffering, takes centre-stage here. In this context, as in others, the sacrificial victim can be seen as a substitute payment; yet the humans die as well, with the bull as co-victim in a group blood-letting.[292] Through the choreographed viewing of the animal, VF incorporates elements of tragedy into epic visualization of ritual, and dramatizes the shared experience of victims of the powerful, both human and bovine.[293]

This shared experience in a unique scene (though of a highly typed category) of sacrifice nevertheless emphasizes human power, both over the reluctant animal victim, over tyrant, and even over self. The Stoic bent of a passage loaded with political significance is also complicated by the clear reminiscence of and elaboration upon depictions of animal suffering in other texts. On the one hand, the philosophical posit of the distinction between human and animal—comprehension of the supernatural and self-control, especially over emotions such as fear—may be an argument for a natural authority of humans over animals, even a right to use them for sacrificial purposes. Yet while VF portrays an enactment of the apparently successful assumption of this control, he has emotionally undermined the persuasiveness of the philosophical argument through the multi-faceted and intertextually informed characterization of the bull. The animal's almost predestined selection as victim (due to its colour), against its own will, its suffering, its dual-role as spectator and victim, and its perception of the disturbing supernatural element and danger to itself, cannot be dismissed as insignificant. While the reader is not necessarily led to imagine the scene from the bull's point of view, his or her gaze rests on an animal not just to be imagined, but to be perceived as another being with perception, if not a perspective, on the ritual: hardly a mere tool to be put to the use of humans in a time of crisis. Fundamentally, the binding together of the human and animal which VF accomplishes, illustrates and questions afresh the nature of the relationship between human master and animal subject, and between sacrifice and other

[292]See Hardie (1993) 52 on the deliberate substitution (by Entellus) of a bull in place of a human (Dares) as an offering to a dead associate (Eryx).
[293]Cf. the confusion of Turnus' role in the 'ritual' ending of the *Aen*., that he phases from 'willing victim to slain suppliant', Panoussi (2009) 76-7.

forms of violence, problematizing the effectiveness of sacrifice, and in this case, the moral and political value of suicide.

VF's novel episode, with its triumphant ending, functions as a sort of re-enactment of recent events in Rome, namely politico-philosophical statements: the humans are staging this play, acting in protest against tyranny. They acquire useful knowledge through exercise of a special skill, and are empowered to act accordingly: they have the wisdom and courage to undertake suicide. But VF juxtaposes, or perhaps pre-empts, this political statement with presentation of the bull alone in the centre of the stage, excluding the humans from view momentarily and elaborating on the situation and perception of the animal. The bull itself is aesthetically compelling in both its emblematic appearance and its theatrical presentation, channelling the empathy and fear of earlier texts' animals and even humans. But his occluded death at the hands of the human tears him suddenly from the reader's gaze, his life only later recalled in the detail of the cup of blood from which the humans drink in 1.816-8. The reader has been brought very close to the bull, and Aeson's quick sacrifice, while demonstrating his own power and the widely-assumed and articulated divide between human and animal, seems somehow callous and dissonant with VF's comparatively extended consideration of the animal's experience as both spectator and (hidden) participant. VF provokes questions about the legitimacy of even ostensibly successful animal sacrifice, both considering its results (e.g., the mutilation of a young boy cannot be ignored even in the face of Elysium), and especially considering the perspective of the animal which does not understand, but perceives, senses, fears and feels, and bears the weight of literary and ritual significance with no say in the matter.

ii. Limed Birds & Locked Stags: Dehumanizing the Hunter

Like his portrayal of this sacrifice, aspects of hunting are similarly problematic in VF, as in the two cases of hunting in the narrative, Cyzicus' killing of Cybele's lion (3.20-6), and Hylas' pursuit of a deer (3.545-57), both young men meet with unfortunate ends as a consequence of their respective animal hunts.[294] The experiences of the animals themselves in each case is not considered, and each episode is fraught with divine intervention and motivation. Similar to the necromancy, these instances of an everyday activity are both Valerian additions to the Argonautic storyline. And, all three

[294]These two hunting episodes and their consequences form a pair, each of which initiates the respective two halves of Book 3. They also share the Ascanius/Silvia's stag episode as model; see Manuwald (2015) 23-4, 70-2, 210-1.

innovations feature a prominent divine component. The interference of the divine, however, in the two hunts is not on the same level as that which appears in the necromancy. The interference and activity of the respective goddesses make each episode more significant in revealing the nature of human/divine rather than human/animal interactions. And the animals themselves, while interesting not least due to their mysteriousness (what does Cybele's lion look like, and did Juno conjure the stag from nowhere, or merely cause it to stir and appear at the right time?), receive no more than superficial description. Their appearance, behaviour, and reactions to the hunts, are not mentioned. Thus, while there may be an implicit questioning of the nobility and especially the passions associated with sport hunting, and the potential injustice wrought in consequence of such passions, the cases of Cyzicus and Hylas are too structurally complex to read the animal-human dynamic as natural, representative examples.[295] And in the action generally, a search for natural examples does not meet with much success. Unlike in the *Aeneid*, hunting (or the hunger that necessitates it) seems not to be of concern for VF, even as an act that shows the leader's concern for his dependants such is found in *Aen*. 1.184-94.[296] The Minyae are only noted as hunting for a special occasion, Jason's and Medea's wedding, 8.252b-3.

Hunting (and fowling) is a theme pursued in simile, however, and in simile the experience of the animal victim is, like the case of the necromancy bull, important to the narrator. Ironically, unlike in the two 'real' hunting episodes, these invite a prolonged gaze upon the animal victims while eliding or obscuring the presence of the human hunters, and allow for a fuller imagining of a picture of hunting in general, not just in the case of (punished) heroes like Cyzicus and Hylas. Also odd is the fact that the sustained focus on the suffering or peril of the animal victims in simile occur in conjunction with, that is, as comparands to, animals and humans meeting their ends *together* in the Book 6 civil war narrative. Sacrifice and hunting are both arenas for human domination of other animal species, but as with the necromancy bull, VF invites sympathetic or empathetic consideration of the animal victims, and at the same time suggests a surprising proximity, and beyond that, even interchangeability, between human and animal, in this case, hunter and hunted.

In some of the similes explored in Chapter 1, birds and their vulnerability—physical and emotional—are highlighted, as is their ability to confront danger in the

[295]Yet Cyzicus' story will feature prominently in Ch. 4.a.i.
[296]I am indebted to Attila Ferenczi and Gesine Manuwald for their helpful insights on this topic.

heights and depths, and to survive. In VF's unprecedented epic simile image of bird-fowling, the emotional experience of the bird is again significant, but to very different effect from those of the two bird families. In addition, physical suffering of the animal provides the main analogous logic of this simile-narrative comparison, whereas the earlier bird similes had been used to illustrate human emotional trials with both physical and emotional components on the bird plane. Finally, in this image the natural spheres of bird and human intersect for the first time, with devastating consequences for the bird which illustrate hard truths about warfare, and about human and animal interactions in both war and the hunt.

The shared death of Oncheus and his horse at the close of Castor's aristeia will be discussed further in the second half of this chapter. They are impaled one after the other, and once their fates are sealed, the focus shifts to the man as he drops his weapons, flailing helplessly on the end of the pike. The image from fowling that VF conjures is previously unknown in the genre, taking the reader into the shadows of a 'faithless' tree:

> qualem populeae fidentem nexibus umbrae 260
> siquis avem summi deducat ab aere rami
> ante manu tacita cui plurima crevit harundo;
> illa dolis viscoque super correpta sequaci
> implorat ramos atque inrita concitat alas.
>
> Just as a bird which, trusting in the weavings of poplar shade, 260
> someone draws down from the [airy] height of the highest branch,
> from whose hand a frequent silent reed shows itself;
> the bird, snatched by the tricks and the clinging lime,
> entreats the branches and in vain flaps its wings. [6.260-4]

The bird snared in lime, while new to epic, nevertheless has several precursors, but they are found in non-tragic drama and in the *Satyricon*.[297] In each of these, the birdlime carries erotic and/or potative connotations, either through the speaker's argument or the immediate context. VF epicizes the lime-trapped bird, even deploying it in martial

[297] Eur. *Kyk.* 433f.; Plaut. *Bacch*. 1.1.16-8; Petron. *Sat.* 109.7.

narrative.[298] Admittedly, the pull of genre could complicate its impact. On the one hand, the portrayal of the death of man and horse may draw this pathetic struggle of the bird, one that by its diminutive scale might diminish the death of a warrior, into an epic, and indeed tragic, register. Or, on the other, VF may be trivializing the death of Oncheus by applying an image from more comic texts, undermining the sober depiction of comrades fallen together, driven to their end by war-fury.

Nevertheless, it is the bird's experience that is the focal point of the simile. The human behind the snare, holding the reed, is a nameless, faceless entity, its *manus* unsettlingly *tacita*; even the weapon, the snare, its structure and nature, are given more attention. The emotional proximity established between the reader and Oncheus and his horse (explored further in b.ii. below) is maintained in the simile, so that the betrayed trust of the bird in the tree—extended perhaps to the 'tree' re-shaped and -purposed by the trapper for such cruel use—as well as its fear, its pleas, and its desperate attempts to escape, are the multiple parallels between the bird and Oncheus.[299] The living object here of the hunter's machinations is not the focus of a lover's future devotion as in Ovid, or even of a human with apparent motives or feeling. The hunter is so impersonal as to be himself the mere mechanics (or, mechanism) of the act of fowling. Moreover, VF's vocabulary is inspired by the description of the nightingale's sorrow in *Geo*. 4:[300]

> qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
> amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
> observans nido implumes detraxit; at illa
> flet noctem ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
> integrat et maestis late loca questibus implet. 515
>
> even as the nightingale, mourning beneath a poplar's share,
> laments her lost young, which an unfeeling ploughman
> on seeing them has torn them unfledged from the nest; but she
> weeps all night long and perched on a branch, renews her piteous strain,
> filling the region round with sad laments. [4.511-5, trans. Fairclough, adapted]

[298]Baier (2001) 81-2 finds the simile undignified and lacking in tragic impact; but cf. Spaltenstein (2005) 84-5. Silius adopts the birdlime imagery for battle, focusing on the fowler at *Pun*. 7.674-7.
[299]Cf. the ominous phrasing at V. Fl. 6.505.
[300] Wijsman (2000) 116. This passage has much in common with the halcyon simile (1.a.i. above), but is more typical of the mourning mother overall.

At the beginning of both portraits, the setting—*populea umbra,* with the mention of the *ramus* in both—is the same, while the ensnared bird of VF struggles, *concitat alas*, rather than sits resigned, *sedet*. The bird in its terror is much more animated than the nightingale in her grief, as it reflects the death throes of the transfixed Oncheus. Still, the nightingale's suffering is arguably co-opted in the borrowing of vocabulary.

In both passages, vulnerable birds are subject to the machinations of men, and both can be said to be victims of human violence.[301] Yet the perpetrator of the theft of the chicks in *Georgics* 4 is given an identity and, later, an economic reason for altering the natural environment, *durus arator.* And the whole scene is presented at a greater distance from the reader, with a fuller picture: the mother mourning a narrated loss, and the view encompassing her, the nest, the not-yet-feathered young, and the action of the human. In VF, the scene is proximal to the reader and claustrophobic. What is more, the reed and trick by which the bird is trapped almost take on the role of aggressor themselves, as the reader 'sees' only the hand holding the reed, as is its apparent habit, *plurima*. The faceless enemy makes the sticky trap with its *doli* more sinister. A human and his clever device here represent the weapon by which Oncheus and his horse are killed. Nevertheless, how the pike can be characterized as 'deceptive' is a puzzle; perhaps it is that being killed by a stationary weapon is so unexpected, unheroic and even perverse. In turn the dying human, oddly, is likened to one of the wild animals most susceptible to (de)human(ised) ingenuity, requiring hardly any force to subdue it. The bird is helpless either to fight the lime or, likely, to understand what is happening to it.[302] In its fright and struggle, however, the bird is anthropomorphized by the Valerian alteration of Virgil's *loca questibus implet* to *implorat*. More than filling the grove with its cries, there is an object for the bird's pleas, as if, like a human, it prays to a would-be guardian, the *rami*, for aid and protection.[303] Such entreaties are as useless, *inritae*, as the flapping of its wings. These details create an effective narrative, the bird betrayed by what should be its natural protector, which has itself been invaded by the human with his snare. The bird once trapped demonstrates panic, again, in both audible and visible responses. After the string of deaths in Castor's aristeia, the birdlime simile invites the reader to pause, to treat this death as an individual moment, and in the bird's story, to

[301]cf. Verg. *G.* 2.207-11, where other birds are displaced by the plough; Gale (2000) 54-5: '...the birds who lose their homes in Book 2 [are victims] of the violence which the farmer needs to employ in his struggle against the natural world.' See also 84-5, 94, 102.
[302]The fowler is being observed in the midst of the bird's suffering, a necessary component of the event absent from Ovid's advice in *Ars am.* 1.391-3, that the reader seeking a maid's favours, i.e., trapping a bird, do a 'thorough job'; it is no use liming the bird and then letting it escape, Hollis (1989) 103-4.
[303]Spaltenstein (2005) 85; on *implorat ramos*: 'est d'une intention pathétique et ingénieuse évidente.'

experience with it the process of realization of entrapment, helplessness, and suffering. Furthermore, the difference between habitat destruction by farming, the fate of Virgil's nightingale, and fowling by means of lime, is arguably the difference between subsistence and sport. VF's choice of fowler over farmer makes the trapped bird's circumstances cruel.

It is worth noting that the emotional trauma suffered by birds snared in this fashion is compounded by the purpose of the lime, which causes their feathers to stick together and/or their feet to stick to the limed branch/reed, and if Pistoclerus in the *Bacchides* is speaking literally, even causes damage.[304] The physical impairment, whether painful or not, added to the panic exhibited by the bird in 6.264, does not diminish the death of Oncheus. The simile rather can evoke sympathy for a man made small in the face of events, and the problematization of warfare here need not negate the emotional impact of the bird's suffering. VF has not been above characterizing Hercules as a bereft halcyon, and while the birdlime simile highlights Oncheus' helplessness, it does not therefore follow that he is insignificant, nor does a pathetic, trapped bird prevent the whole moment from being either heroic or tragic. Indeed, in conjunction with Oncheus' experience with his horse, the birdlime simile seems to call into question both the valour of warfare itself, pointing to its impersonal, indiscriminate nature, and the ability of humans to predict or manage its consequences.

The nature of war and the relative positions of combatants is illustrated a second time with animal-human interactions, this time in a simile portrayal of hunting. Here, the chaos in which horses and humans are dying together in the tangle of Ariasmenus' weaponized chariots at 6.386-426 is compared to an unusual deer hunt. The event of the narrative will receive more attention in b.ii., while the hunting episode which is used to describe the Colchian spectators watching the calamity is an interesting counterpart to the birdlime scene. The expected reaction of the reader to such a scene of carnage in the chariot disaster is jarringly upset by the emotional non-reaction of the Colchians, who have also been watching the spectacle unfold. They are not moved—*haut moti Colchorum animi*—and rather than leaving the forces of Ariasmenus to die in the tumult, they speed their doom, continuing to hurl spears at their enemies, who naturally are as helpless as if they were bound. If the chariot disaster is like a civil war, then, the narrator explains, what happens next is like a hunter finding two stags, their antlers locked in combat, and his work made easy:

---

[304] '*harundo alas verberat*', Plaut. *Bacch.* 1.1.17.

> ...ac forma necis non altera surgit
> quam cervos ubi non Umbro venator edaci,
> non penna petit, haerentes sed cornibus altis
> invenit et caeca constrictos occupat ira.
>
> ...and a form of slaughter arises not unlike
> when a hunter does not, with his greedy Umbrian (hound)
> or arrow, seek deer, but rather finds them locked together
> by their lofty antlers and a blind rage possesses them bound. [6.419-22]

Presumably, the hunter kills the stags, as the Colchians attack the confused cavalry. It is interesting to note that the methods by which animals are caught in this and the lime simile are today considered unethical if called 'hunting'.[305] Many ancient methods of hunting and trapping are now deemed unfair chase, but readers cannot assume VF shares this view. Yet in each scene, VF denies the hunter any real triumph over the animal victim. VF need not share the modern conviction that killing animals in such circumstances is unethical as such in order to question the nobility of such a pursuit by deflating the human achievement. On the one hand, he accomplishes this in the liming simile especially through control of the visual details and empathy, by fixing the eye so firmly on the suffering of the bird, and by subjectivizing the event through the bird's relationship to its environment. He surrounds the bird with the tools and the tree, omitting the human, with the exception of a disembodied hand, practically a tool and thus dehumanized.

On the other, in the case of the locked stags, the hunter does not even need his tools of the hunt present; he is the beneficiary of good fortune and good timing. In fact, he need not be a hunter at all, since the clear advantage he has over the animals nullifies any principle of chase. Indeed, it is the stags' natural attributes (*cornibus altis)* and instinct (*caeca ira*) that have made them prey to a human who needs no real skill to

[305]Liming is illegal in the EU. In the USA, it is not illegal to shoot 'locked-up' bucks, but there seems to be a consensus in the hunting community that, particularly if one or both animals is/are standing and strong, it is unethical to do so. In at least some states, each deer would require a tag, thus the taking of two animals locked-up counts as two separate kills, for which the hunter must pay. Many hunters believe it is incumbent on the humans to try to separate the bucks, if possible, provided they are not both near death. In that case, minimizing the animals' suffering takes precedent, while it would not constitute a hunting kill as such, and meat harvested from such a kill might be 'redeemed' through donation to a local food bank. Having to take animals in such a situation is considered undesirable. My thanks to experienced hunters R. and J. Guyott of Sydney, Michigan, for their guidance on this issue.

subdue them, while the unnecessary hound is nevertheless gluttonous. Dogs are by reputation greedy, but it is likely that association with this type of human is suggested to have changed his nature, and his greed in turn reflects the influence or disposition of the hunter (since *venator* is flanked by *Umbro* and *edaci*), whose attitude is revealed in his willingness to attack the deer. The presence of the dog is also counterpart to the stags' predicament: humans find ways to bend the natural to their benefit and advantage, deploying animals of one species against another. Humans' ingenuity in use of instruments separate them so completely from nature in one image, while the other shows a domination of nature—which nevertheless has violence of its own—that requires neither labour nor exhibition of courage. It is a complex simile, remarkable for being yet another of VF's that seems to have no epic precedent or parallel.

On the narrative level, the horses and humans of the chariot cavalry have been assimilated to the same species, the deer. The disaster is the mid-point of Book 6, characterized as a cosmic event, and shows the first intervention of one of the three goddesses.[306] In an extrapolation from the hunting imagery, here both animal and human fall victim to the betrayal of cold, neutral technology. And of course, as will be explored below, Pallas turns the chariot *horses* specifically against their handlers (see comments below in section 3.b.ii. on the similar passage in *DRN* 5). Ariasmenus' entire force are now all hunted animals, and the Colchians are the human hunter. The slaughter not only shows the joint vulnerability of both horse and charioteer to their own designs and engineering, represented in the stags' antlers, but also offers an insight into the character of the Colchian spectators. Chaos has fully enveloped the cavalry, and the Colchians take advantage of it, immune to the psychological impact of such a pathetic end. Ariasmenus himself is an exception: yet he is aware, and means to fight his true foe, leaping down from his chariot. Valour nevertheless does not save him from what appears to be poor timing, as two approaching chariots cross paths with his own, and cut Ariasmenus to pieces where he stands. Everywhere is the potentially dehumanizing impact of technology. Hunting, far from being a heroic pursuit, is a hollow victory for the hunter, and a pathetic end for the victim, the role of which both animals and humans can jointly take up.

But on the narrative level, in the episodes of Oncheus and the chariot disaster, what is the relationship that has made these animals and humans jointly vulnerable? It cannot elicit sympathy for both species of victims if it is a unilateral exercise of power by

[306]Pallas; Juno will (re)enter the action at 6.477, and Venus at 7.210.

humans over animals. While this characterizes the ritual of sacrifice, and VF's dark imagining of hunting, it does not dominate VF's interaction between humans and two animal species in particular, those that move to the front lines with the heroes in war. This interspecies dynamic will be the focus of the next section.

b. Partnership: Animals & Humans on the Battlefield

The chapter's second half will explore the counterpart to human predation, with animals not only interacting with humans in a more positive way, but in contexts of shared pursuits, collaboration and relationships in which mutual regard affects both, and indeed defines the relationship. In epic, those animals closest to humans and most constant in relationship and interaction are two which remain close to humans in the present day, dogs and horses. These two species accompany humans on the hunt, on the battlefield, and at the funeral pyre, and in VF, they form a significant part of the picture of arrayed forces in Colchis.

VF's take on horses has already been explored to some degree, and a unique simile featuring a lap-dog having a fit (7.124-6) perhaps indicates a personal interest in canines on the part of the author as well. It is an intimate portrait of a dog at home, in a companion role, and without precedent in epic imagery.[307] The artistry or effectiveness of this simile (describing the distraught Medea) is not important here, but rather the openness of an epic writer to imagining a ubiquitous but unheroic animal in a domestic context, displaying behaviour typical of pets, particularly small dogs and cats.[308] It is another example of the author's observation of animal behaviour, especially of those animals which keep company with humans. But VF's dogs also appear in those more typical epic contexts, as in the funeral at Cyzicus, and in a notable, visible position at the sides of their human counterparts in Colchis. And they, and horses too, are eager for and promised the reward of glory and fame in battle. This chapter's epigraph hints at how the horse Bree's slavery to a human warrior (a master who was brave, noble and wealthy) has shaped his own view of himself. It is as if he had chosen to be, and takes pride in being, a war-horse, even while he longs for his freedom and home in Narnia.[309] VF touches on this aspect of animal-human interaction—the impact of human culture on

[307]Gärtner however notes three parallels to the dog's relationship with its mistress and its frenzy, Verg. *Aen.* 7.490ff. (Silvia's pet deer); 4.69ff. (Dido in distress); Hom. *Od*. 10.216f. (Circe's beasts compared to fawning hounds).
[308]This behaviour has a name: FRAP, 'frenetic random activity periods'.
[309]His equine counterpart, Hwin, has no such pretensions, and is both more sensible and more self-aware than Bree.

animals, and joint pursuit of glory in partnership—through original imagery as well as through reinterpretation and re-presentation of mythic animal-human relationships. Once the fighting really gets under way, however, the promise of the reward of glory fades into the background, and the cost of this pursuit, indeed of this partnership, both to animal and to human, becomes troublingly clear and prominent.

i. Honour & Glory

The programmatic significance of catalogues in epic will be articulated at greater length in Chapter 4. For the discussion of animal and human interactions on the battlefield, it suffices to say that epic ethnographic material often features details of a person's or people's animals, their relationships with them, and the products they derive from their animals. In his ethnographic catalogue of exotic Eastern and Northern tribes in Colchis, VF notably includes different tribes' hunting and riding practices, 6.146-9, 161-2, and the warrior Gesander later offers his own counterpart to these entries in his declaration of his people's horsemanship and hunting, 6.328-33. The tribes' various interactions and contact with animals is also demonstrated in the note of the fame of their lands for animal products like honey and milk, 6.145. These details in several cases are significant features which VF chooses to characterize Aeetes' and Perses' allies. The actual relationship between animal and human on the battlefield and the particular cultural significance thereof is however especially marked in the catalogue entry featuring the Caspians' dogs. In another vein, the relationship between an individual driver and his horse(s), battling together and eager for victory, can be a major mythic theme in itself.

The Caspian War-dogs: Canines & Martial Culture

Dogs and horses merit consideration together as animal companions of heroes, as even in Homer they are both demonstrated to have special relationships with humans not shared by other species.[310] They have already appeared together in VF at the pyre in Cyzicus, and in wartime, both appear at the front lines ready for battle. Horses' and humans' shared eagerness for glory in victory is a theme in the *Georgics*, and will be important below. Dogs in epic are attributed an established set of traits, physical as well as of personality, from at least Homer. Odysseus' dog Argos exemplifies human perception not only of certain dogs' exceptional loyalty, but also of their memory, *Od.*

[310]MacKinnon (2014b) 270-1.

17.290-327. Dogs in war feature in far fewer passages in literature than do horses, and so there is much less general literary background on their various roles.[311] Yet clearly, size, trainability, courage and loyalty suggested them as animal allies to several armies in real life, and VF manages to capture their attitude, their impact, and human recognition of their aid in the midst of the Book 6 catalogue. There he includes a striking description of dogs at war, and the Caspians' burial practices for canines:

> insequitur Drangea phalanx claustrisque profusi
> Caspiadae, quis turba canum non segnius acres
> exilit ad lituos pugnasque capessit eriles.
> inde etiam par mortis honos tumulisque recepti
> inter avos positusque virum. iam pectora ferro 110
> terribilisque innexa iubas ruit agmine nigro
> latratu<que> cohors quanto sonat horrida Ditis
> ianua vel superas Hecates comitatus in auras.
>
> The Drangean phalanx follows, and the Caspians pouring forth
> from their camp, whose troop of spirited dogs no more slowly
> springs forth at the signal and take up their masters' fight.
> Thus even their funeral rites are equal, and they are received with tombs
> among the ancestors and resting places of heroes; now, their chests and 110
> terrible crests woven round with iron, the cohort rushes on in a black vanguard
> with a barking as great as echoes at the bristling gate of Dis
> or [from] Hecate's retinue to the airs above. [6.106-13]

The Caspians' use of dogs in war is by no means unique. Rather, their burial practice for the animals fascinates the narrator, and the elaboration on the elevation of the dogs' status (109-110a) is couched between the description of their eager partnership in the battle (107-8), and the effect of their advance (110b-13). The locale shifts momentarily from the battlefield to home, where the Caspians demonstrate their conviction that equal, proportionate honour is due to and merited by courage and sacrifice, whether by human or dog. In VF's Rome, the overwhelming majority of

[311]But see on war-dogs in antiquity both Forster (1941) and Fletcher (1941) (in ancient texts), and also Mayor (2014) 286-7.

canine graves marked with tombs are for dogs of the toy and lap variety, those which were strictly companion animals. Tombstones could not only shed light on the human appreciation for such animals, but sometimes demonstrate the human attempt to speak for the dog, with the epitaph written from the perspective of the dog itself.[312] The Caspian canine military funeral rites would thus strike the Roman reader as exotic, even compared with their own appreciation of dogs. The animals in the Caspian lines certainly seem equipped to earn their honours, outfitted with their own armour like their human compatriots, which protects both neck and chest.[313]

The emotional impact of their appearance on both the narrator-as-spectator and on the Caspians' enemies is terror, and the dogs' power, role and frightening aspect and noise suggest the closing comparison both to Cerberus and to the company of (dog-faced) Hecate. The detail of the tombs in the middle section of the passage and the sounds of Dis and Hecate link the dogs' glory not only to terror—success in battle—but also to death and darkness. Human harnessing of dogs' characteristics and instincts has come to give them not only martial but also enhanced social significance. This significance also gives the dogs in their own right the potential to tap into cultural currency, channelling the effect of mythological imagery (not the only incident of this in VF; see the horses in the next subsection). Communal immortality granted to the Caspian dogs in funeral and burial honours is paralleled in military action by their larger-than-life presence, essential in psychological intimidation of the enemy and evocative of canine mythological emblems of the underworld. Humans then reward their animal allies with recognition in death, but the honours themselves, the dogs' own zest for battle, clear in lines 107-8, are tinged with notes of the chthonic—rather than celestial—divine. In contrast, the other animal allies in the pursuit of glory in Colchis tend, with their human compatriots, to shine with the light of heaven.

Horses, Absyrtus & Aron: Redirecting the Horses of Phaethon

Horses in epic and in ancient literature generally have a considerably larger presence and spectrum of traditional characterizations than dogs, especially horses trained for combat. A few words here will help to provide some literary context for VF's treatment of horses in Book 6. Horses as companions in war had obviously been prominent on the

[312]E.g. the epitaph plaque for the companion dog Margarita, 1756,0101.1126, British Museum. See also MacKinnon (2014b) 273.
[313]Cf. 6.231b-34a, where the implication seems to be that the armour of the Sarmatians matches that of their horses.

epic battlefield since Achilles' team shed tears for Patroclus in *Il*. 17.426ff. (admittedly an individualising case, compared to, e.g., the funeral at Cyzicus). Horses' multifaceted nature, distinctive personalities, and capacity for meaningful relationships with humans fascinated ancient writers. Ps.-Xenophon's treatise, *On Horsemanship*, which in its advice on training provides insight into ancient perceptions of horse behaviour, is significant for its anthropomorphizing of horses in a non-fictional context. The author warns the reader that many horses are naturally lazy (3.3), and parallels a horse's spirit to human anger: horses should be handled based upon their individual temperaments, just like people (9.1-4). He argues that a warhorse's disobedience renders the horse 'not only useless', οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστος, but in fact, it is often comparable to the behaviour of a human traitor (3.6). Equally as interesting is Ps.-Xenophon's observation of how the attitude of a human interacting with a horse affects the horse emotionally, and how important it is that horses associate humans with positive experiences (e.g. 2.3-5; 3-7-12; 6.13-5).[314]

In Pliny's sections on horses (mostly warhorses), as well as in the third *Georgic*, it is evident that the value of the animal is in more than its physical beauty and power. Pliny attributes a moral understanding to the species, as well as capacity for devotion of legendary quality, and it is their character combined with their strength that makes for the bond with their human riders, the basic unit of an effective cavalry.[315] It seems that, taking Xenophon and Pliny together, anthropomorphizing of horses was not limited to poetic descriptions or devices, and literary representation of horses may have been reinforced by humans' real life experience with the animals and interpretation of their behaviour. Horses are brave or cowardly, hard-working or lazy, devoted or treacherous, and have wills of their own, while noble horses hunger for glory and gain reputations in their own right. Horses thus have an extensive literary pedigree, with a spectrum of anthropomorphic characteristics ascribed to them, both within and outside of the genre of epic. In turn, the heroes in epic garner honour and reputation for, in addition to their courage and martial prowess, their skill as horsemen and -women (the Dioscuri being

[314]See Clutton-Brock (2007) 72, 85-6; Willekes (2016) 26-7; 135-6 for the mutually shaping influence of the relationship between humans and horses. A recent study has demonstrated that horses have over the millennia acquired the ability to read human emotion by facial cues alone, a trait they share only with dogs. Thus far, these are the only two species scientifically proven to have developed 'interspecific' facial reading capabilities. This recent study on horses [Smith et al. (2016)] is particularly helpful here, as it demonstrates the natural consequences of the relationship of human and horse, a social proximity not shared by the other species which have been domesticated for as long a period as *equus caballus*.
[315]Plin. *HN* 8.64.156; 8.64.154, 157. On the importance of the relationship between horse and rider in cavalry efforts, see Hyland (2003) 143-4.

the most prominently mentioned in the *Arg.,* if not in myth generally). As anthropomorphic descriptions of horses in epic are to some extent formulaic, it is not unexpected that VF's horses have multiple precursors. But the nature of the perceptiveness of VF's horses, and that of the relationship between his horses and humans, is especially sensitive and provocative.

The most suitable place for warhorses is the battlefield, and it is in Book 6 that horses are most numerous and significant. From the beginning of the Colchian civil war, VF highlights the equine contingent. VF's invocation to the Muse and subsequent catalogue of warriors naturally follows Homer and Virgil, and his ethnographic and geographical notes also contain echoes of Lucan.[316] But while the former two poets mention ships alongside the heroes in the first lines of their respective catalogues, VF gives pride of place to the cavalry force in the invocation, its *equi* as well as its *viri*:[317]

> Hinc age Riphaeo quos videris orbe furores,
> Musa, mone, quanto Scythiam molimine Perses
> concierit, quis fretus equis per bella virisque. 35
>
> Now come, Muse, and tell what fury you saw on
> The Riphean plane, with how great an effort Perses
> Stirred up Scythia, and on which horses and heroes
> He relied during the war. [6.33-5]

While the horses are not named individually in the catalogue that follows, they are nonetheless meant to be seen as more than the mode of transport by which the armies come to the plain of battle. In fact, the emphasis is on the cavalry as the greatest proportion of fighting forces on the field in Colchis. Furthermore, this inclusion of the horses in the invocation, entrusted with Perses' cause in a way equal to their humans, is perhaps a harking back to a pre-Virgilian topos. Virgil himself links the singing of *equi* with *arma virumque* in *Aen*. 9.777, when describing the topics which delighted the bard

[316]E.g. his catalogue of Pompey's *alleati orientali* in *BC* 3, Fucecchi (2006) 98, 174—though these shared components are not without contrast in focus, 16-7.
[317]Hom. *Il*. 2.484ff., 493 for the mention of the number of ships; Verg. *Aen*. 10.163ff., 165 for *rates*. There is the earlier catalogue as well in Verg. *Aen.*7.641ff., but the opening lines are concerned with the human hosts only, and the way in which their numbers cover the landscape. Horses do, however, feature in the descriptions of individual heroes or peoples, e.g. Hom. *Il*.2.554; Verg. *Aen.*.7.651.

Cretheus.[318] In his invocation VF anticipates his own narration of the feats of men and their horses in the book he will devote to warfare, while looking backward at least to Cretheus and Virgil, and perhaps beyond.[319] This mention of Perses' equine 'allies' also provides a grounding for the ethnographic material on the exotic northern peoples, and effects a setting of the scenes, for, e.g., Castor's mini-aristeia and, perhaps most importantly, the tour-de-force chariot disaster in the middle of the book.

In VF's war sequence, horses are ubiquitous, though for the most part they are not associated with the Minyae (Jason's interaction with horses mostly consists of him killing them along with their riders, 6.582). But they do play an important role and like the Caspian dogs, are credited with taking part in the action. They are likewise important in the visual impact of the human heroes' presence, the foremost examples in both being Medea's brother Absyrtus and his chariot-team, and Absyrtus' friend Aron and his mount. The horses' role in these aspects of martial interaction is more subtly portrayed than that of the Caspian dogs. Nevertheless, the horses in the Absyrtus/Aron passage simultaneously characterize the heroism of the human and embody VF's interaction with the tradition, particularly with non-Argonautic mythic material.

The two-species unit that revels and kills in war finds its inherent significance in the existence of a functional, successful partnership, primarily due to the links forged by AR between Apsyrtos and the hapless Phaethon.[320] As charioteering can be a metaphor for governance, it also appears, like steering a ship or designing a shrine, to be a metaphor for the act of poetic composition. Virgil uses all three in describing his creative process in the *Georgics*, e.g. 2.541-2, 2.39-41, 3.16-39. VF's programmatic focus on the catasterism of the *Argo* and some of her crew, the cosmic nature and of the quest and celestial destination of some of its heroes, explored in the following pages, may help keep anxieties about inexperience at bay: VF understands the enormity of his task and the nature of his subject, unlike the naive Phaethon, and he has chosen its course.

Phaethon's relevance to a discussion on human-horse partnership in war is not immediately obvious, especially since overt references to Phaethon in the Latin *Arg*. do not seem to have much to do with humans' skill and relationship with horses in the

---

[318] Horses as well as men and their feats are the purview of poets and storytellers, see Verg. *Aen.* 1.752, 11.746-7.

[319] Bloch (1970) 209-10 surmises that the Virgilian line is derived from a lost Ennian model; see also 210 n.23, and comments on the formulation with a focus on poetic memory in Conte (1986) 70-5.

[320] I here preserve the transliteration from the Greek ('Aps-os') when referring to AR's character, from the Latin ('Abs-us') when to VF's prince.

narrative. Phaethon is only directly mentioned twice (and only once by name), and that more or less in the context of mourning, namely that of his father Sol and his sisters upon his death (1.526b-7, 5.429-30). In fact, in both references in the Latin text, Phaethon is used to point to the cause of Sol's anxiety as voiced in Book 1: Sol expects misfortune like that suffered by Phaethon to fall upon others of his descendants, specifically Aeetes, as a result of the *Argo*'s journey. This use of—and allusions to—Phaethon is not unexpected in VF; AR uses references to the myth both to characterize Apsrytus and his death, and as one of his many aetia.[321] VF's treatment, however, is naturally influenced by the portrayals of Phaethon in the intervening period, as well as by AR's actual insertion of him, or rather, his corpse, into his Argonauts' journey. By VF's time, Phaethon's chaotic drive and fall—due to his lack of skill and experience at the reins of his father's chariot—had been used in literature as a vehicle for considering, for example, aspects of politics and philosophical inquiry, including but not limited to human power, understanding, frailty, ambition, and [in]stability.[322] It is only natural that Phaethon should feature as a motif in VF, following not only prominent Phaethon allusions in AR, but also in Seneca's *Medea*.[323] The significance in this discussion of human-horse relationships of VF's use of Phaethon imagery requires substantial background; this will focus particularly on the human-horse dynamic in Ovid's treatment of the episode, and then briefly on AR's allusions to Phaethon in his portrayal of Apsyrtos.

In epic, Phaethon's story is most fully developed in *Metamorphoses* 2 by Ovid, whose treatment in turn is part of his response to and interaction with Lucretius.[324] For Ovid, Phaethon's fall is a useful theme for exploring what he sees as faults in Lucretius' representation of the cosmos and assertions about the capacity of humans to comprehend and to make generalizations about it with certainty.[325] Ovid's Phaethon is eager to prove his paternity. His upward journey is a sort of quest for truth, an effort tinged with hybris in Ovid's text, with its implied parallels to the assault of the Giants

[321] On Phaethon in AR, see Mori (2008) 209-10 and Clauss (2000) 21.
[322] See, for example, Heerink (2014) 90-1; also Keith (2014) 286-8. The death of young people in chariots is a theme scattered throughout epic, especially the *Met*. See, e.g., Ov. *Met.* 15.518b-23 (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 7.765-7 [with *Aen.* 5.667-9]), Ov. *Met.* 6.218ff., 15.453-5.
[323] Esp. 599-602. But cf. 28-36.
[324] As demonstrated by Schiesaro (2014); facets of Ovid's Phaethon tale as part of an ongoing dialogue with *DRN* include reflections on, among other things, philosophical ambition and achievement (74-6), epistemology (77-85), the relationship between poetic style and the sublime (86-90), and the nature of epic (95-9).
[325] Lucretius' turn on Phaethon's flight is an illustration of the (semi)divine attainments of great philosophers like Epicurus, who are to be praised and emulated. On Ovid's correction of Lucretius, Schiesaro (2014) 78-80, 84-7.

on Olympus. The human or divine driver and the horses, and a functional relationship between the two, for Lucretius symbolises certain participants in and aspects of philosophical inquiry, and perhaps for Ovid, also political activity. This set of symbols can be seen as expanded into a general spectrum of abstract pursuits, and even more the chaos caused by mismanagement of those pursuits, by Virgil in the chariot crash in *Geo.* 1.498-514.

Skill, or lack thereof, in handling a divine chariot-team can be traced through both AR and VF in allusions to Phaethon, and for VF, Ovid's extended version of the story provides a detailed backdrop for Phaethon imagery and echoes.[326] There Sol, the seasoned driver of the fiery horses, is apprehensive about handing the reins over to the eager but inexperienced youth. As Phaethon is not dissuaded, Sol acquiesces, but urges his son to keep to a middle way, following his father's *vestigia* (2.133-5). Perhaps more interestingly, for Phaethon driving the solar chariot will not be a matter of urging forward, but of holding back, and the test of control is to keep the zealous horses racing on course (2.127-8). Sol's instruction comes to naught: immediately the horses are disturbed by the fact that a mortal youth, 'weighing' so much less than their divine master, is at the reins, and they depart from the proper path (164-8a). Their reaction to this new handler is as important as Phaethon's inexperience. Phaethon, for his part, is overwhelmed by the speed, height, light, celestial monsters, and heat, never once able to get control (168b-70, 179-82, 193-7, 231-2); thence the cosmos is thrown into turmoil as the horses take Phaethon far too high and far too low (199-205), both extremes his father had warned him to avoid. In addition to the interwoven themes of hybris, naiveté, and incompetence, encapsulated in Phaethon's experience is a counter-Lucretian critique of ambitious, even cavalier, philosophical inquiry.

Phaethon's lack of control over the horses—a lack of experience as well as of mutual understanding on the part of both demigod and animals—contrasts sharply with the depiction of the gods and their teams elsewhere in Ovid's text. In a striking illustration of Phaethon's panic, Ovid notes that the youth 'forgot' the names of Sol's team (2.156), the very names which are offered the reader 40 lines before. Knowing the names of one's horses indicates both mastery and familiarity, so it is understandable that Phaethon, having no relationship nor previous experience with his father's horses, is

[326] Skill with horses is a theme that shapes the characterization of not only humans and demi-gods, but gods as well, as at Ov. *Met.* 3.89, 551-4; cf. 699-705. As in the case of Phaethon, celestial horses can also provide a context in which the mortal encounters the immortal.

unable to remember their names in a moment of crisis.[327] In the Latin *Arg*., it is the driver-horse relational component of the Phaethon theme that VF sets before the reader in an overturning of the themes of incompetence and alienation between the species.

In Ovid, again, the implied importance both of experience and of relationship between driver/rider and horses has been demonstrated. In the Hellenistic *Arg.*, Phaethon is used pointedly to characterize members of the Colchian royal family. AR, when introducing the young prince Apsyrtos, first mentions his parentage, focusing equally on Aeetes and on his mother, a nymph (3.241-4). But the poet then refers directly to the prince's uncle, and to his inglorious fall. The youthful Apsyrtos stands out among his comrades, and is actually given the title 'Phaethon': καί μιν Κόλχων υἷες ἐπωνυμίην Φαέθοντα /ἔκλεον, οὕνεκα πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν ἠιθέοισιν, 'and the sons of the Colchians called him the nickname Phaethon, because he outshone all his peers', (AR 3.245-6). Apsyrtos is a Phaethon in more than his lineage; his death, it can be argued, is due to his naiveté and inexperience.[328] Aeetes, thus paralleled with his own father Helios, is responsible for sending his young son on a mission—to recover Medea—for which he is not qualified. Apsyrtos is deceived by his sister and Jason, almost too easily, and is ambushed and killed by them in Artemis' shrine in the Brygean Islands (AR 4.452ff.).

VF's use of the Phaethon motif is rather more subtle. On the surface, the first mention of Phaethon in VF (1.526b-7) tells of Sol's grief, and the humiliation he anticipates should the Minyae reach Colchis. In the second (5.429-32), Vulcan has included Phaethon's death on the doors of the Temple of the Sun. The loss of Phaethon is obviously of some significance, both immediately, given Sol's anxiety about the future, and as ekphrastic prolepsis, if it looks forward to a recapitulation of the death of AR's 'Phaethon' in the shrine.[329] Sol understandably worries that other of his progeny, namely Aeetes and his children, will suffer under the execution of Jupiter's *Weltenplan*.[330] But another layer of meaning, read through AR's *Arg.*, allow the allusions to Phaethon and the horses of Sol to tell the future, or at least, a possible future, different from a recapitulation of Apsyrtos-as-Phaethon, and to recast the character of Medea's brother. For our purposes, the Valerian take on Absyrtus' status offers one of the key examples in which the successful pairing of horse and humans is particularly

[327]Cf. Ov. *Met.* 5.402-4.
[328]See Hershkowitz (1998b) 175; Mori (2008) 205-6.
[329] See Keith (2014) 88 on the Minyae as Phaethon, being overwhelmed by the 'proliferation of scenes' on the doors, rather than the 'brilliance' of the hall which captivated Sol's son in *Met.* 2.
[330]Ganiban (2014) 254-6 on the identity and position of Sol in Jupiter's regime.

highlighted, especially through the inherent mythic connotations.

Firstly, VF prefers to emphasize Absyrtus' descent from the Sun without the nickname. In contrast to AR's overt allusion via Apsyrtos' appellation, it has been pointed out that VF uses Phaethon to prefigure *Aeetes* rather than Absyrtus.[331] The portrayal of Absyrtus, in turn, seems to support this reading. Through Sol's complaint in Book 1, VF brings the imagery of Phaethon's downfall to mind, though without showing the event itself.[332] This activates the myth and its imagery whose relevance is so explicit in AR, as well as its contemporary political resonance in Rome. Hence the myth and its place in the epic, and even Argonautic, tradition is just beneath the surface when the other descendants of Sol enter the narrative.[333] Relying on this, the reader's generic memory of AR, and on reference to Aeetes and to Absyrtus' solar qualities, VF makes the connection between the ill-fated youth and the prince of Colchis. Yet, the depiction of Absyrtus himself, and his handling of the chariot team in battle, turn the expectation of a doubling of Phaethon on its head.

The Valerian Absyrtus is introduced not as a young man foremost among his peers, but as his father's son. Aeetes has already been introduced as the son of Sol entering his father's house, *se Sole satus patriis penetralibus infert*, 'the stock of Sol brought himself into his father's sanctuary', (5.456). VF has thus laid the groundwork for the reveal of Absyrtus as one *dignus avo* (5.458a), and for his future, ominously reminiscent of AR or indeed Absyrtus' traditional—and ambiguous in its justness—fate generally: *quemque insontem meliora manerent,* '[Absyrtus], whom, innocent, better things ought to have awaited', (458b). His personal appearance and merits are additionally Phaethon-like, even sun-like: he stands ready for battle in his father's armour (6.171). Nevertheless, just as his link to the fallen son of Sol is mediated by the depiction of Aeetes, a Phaethon-like embodiment of political extremity, Absyrtus is an alternative to rather than a copy of Phaethon, a warrior of established reputation, and, more importantly, a capable and far superior handler of horses. In battle he beams, and no less than his brightness and lineage, his horsemanship and skill in 'Sol's' chariot is highlighted:

---

[331]Heerink (2014) 90-2, 95, though cf. Barchiesi (2009) 170 n.13.

[332]Instead, the focal point is its result, grief; though 'witnessing' the event, and family members' sight of one another, is also important, as the Heliades' emotional reaction to seeing their father in the sky (1.527, with *viso*) likely echoes the *vidisse* in Sol's traumatic memory of Phaethon's fall at Ov. *Met*. 4.245-6.

[333]See Gale (2007) 156ff. For a definition of what she labels 'latent' myth, in this case, Lucretius' interaction with, response to, and corrections of myth traditions (of origins of the cosmos and human cultural development) without an explicit reference, 177. In some instances, the poet 'evokes the traditional account only to reject it' (181); cf. Zissos' 'negative allusion' (1999).

Absyrtus clipei radiis curruque coruscus
Solis avi (cuius vibrantem comminus hastam
cernere nec galeam gentes potuere minantem,
sed trepidae redeunt et verso vulnera tergo 520
accipiunt magnisque fugam clamoribus augent)
proterit impulsu gravis agmina corporaque atris
sternit equis gemitusque premit spirantis acervi.

Absyrtus, gleaming with the beams of his shield and the chariot
of his grandfather the Sun, whose shaking spear and
threatening helm people could not look at close at hand,
but fearful withdraw and in turned backs 520
receive wounds and increase their flight with great cries,
oppressive he tramples down the battle-lines with a strike, and strews
bodies with his dark horses, and crushes the groans of the exhaling heap.
[6.517-23]

Significantly, it is precisely Absyrtus' skill with the team that distinguishes him from Phaethon. He knows the horses—whether they are Sol's or not, while the chariot clearly is at least a counterpart to the chariot in which Phaethon perished—and they are warriors as he is. Ably manoeuvred, they wreak havoc, stunning the enemy with the glitter of their car.[334] VF's Absyrtus, then, is an inverse of Phaethon, rather than a mirror-image. It is *Aeetes* who shares with Phaethon the experience of Jupiter's disfavour, though it takes different forms in each case, while Aeetes' son's exploits invalidate any association with Phaethon's unlucky chariot drive. The incompetence, or mismanagement at the figurative reins, is transferred to Aeetes, who is held responsible. The real horses and Sol's chariot are actually in good hands, and Absyrtus' achievement not only stands in contrast to Phaethon's failure, but also illustrates the lost potential of Ariasmenus' chariot teams and their drivers, discussed below. Without divine interference, and it ought to be noted, without explicit aid either, the prince of Colchis proves himself a mature warrior and an exceptional charioteer.[335]

[334]The chariot here may, like Aeetes' in AR, be a gift from Helios. It is likely not literally the same chariot with which the Sun lights the sky; my thanks to G. Manuwald and F. Mac Góráin for this observation. The colour of the horses here (*atris*) also contrasts with any expectation that they be bright, and may further separate Absyrtus from Phaethon.

[335] Hershkowitz (1998b) 176.

His horsemanship, however, does not merely serve to set him apart as a lone hero. Unexpectedly, Absyrtus' aristeia is cut short by a shift of focus to his companion Aron, who is Absyrtus' match in appearance and prowess:

> nec levior comitatur Aron, horrentia cuius
> discolor arma super squalentesque aere lacertos 525
> barbarica chlamys ardet acu tremefactaque vento
> implet equum, qualis roseis it Lucifer alis,
> quem Venus inlustri gaudet producere caelo.
>
> No less harsh, Aron accompanies him, over whose bristling
> armour and upper arms scaly with bronze blazes a multi-coloured 525
> cloak of foreign needle-work, [which] billowing in the wind
> stretches out over his horse, just as Lucifer makes his way on rosy wings,
> he whom Venus rejoices to lead forth in a bright sky. [6.524-8]

The fact that Aron is 'no less heavy', and that he instead of Absyrtus is compared to Lucifer on rosy wings, raises Aron to the level of the prince. The appearance of both men includes and merges references both to light and texture—colours, bristling, feathers, scales, and radiance—which all call to mind the sun, its rays, its power to overwhelm and blind, and its rising and setting.[336] Absyrtus' impressive aspect, however, seems to be natural; while he is grandson to Sol, he and his horses are mortal, and behave like the other heroes and teams on the battlefield, though of course they are high achievers. Astral attributes allow them to borrow connotation from the Dioscuri, while at the same time the myth of Phaethon is not explicit and therefore held at a discreet distance. Phaethon imagery is only permitted to characterize Absyrtus indirectly, as it is invoked and then replaced. Absyrtus keeps his wheels on the ground, further distancing him from Phaethon, whose encounter with the supernatural and the celestial monsters in the sky is more like the experience of Jason than of Absyrtus. As stars, Absyrtus and Aron are, in contrast, aligned with the constellations who confront Phaethon in Ovid.[337] But what completes the picture of the starry and brilliant warriors are their horses, animals integral to the imagery of the gods to whom Absyrtus and his

[336] Cf. the appearance of Astyr at Verg. *Aen*. 10.180-1, and the way Turnus takes pleasure in his horses at *Aen.* 12.82.
[337] See Barchiesi (2009) 164-8 for interpretations of Phaethon's rendezvous with members of the Zodiac.

friend are likened. While Absyrtus is an experienced, intimidating, and competent Phaethon, his comrade in battle shines as his brother star, and their horses, properly handled and enabling them in their feats of excellence, are indispensable parts of their heroic iconography. Furthermore, the heroism of Aron astride his horse, and thereafter the mention of the sons of Phrixus, 6.542-4, allows Absyrtus to be considered the head of a group of capable warriors, much like Jason.[338] Should there be any doubt as to his status, while his individual exploits may be passed over in Book 6, in Book 8 he is indisputably the leader of the fleet in pursuit of the *Argo*.

The role of horses in battle generally has been discussed above. Here it suffices to say that AR's Phaethon imagery, at least as far as it is applied to VF's Absyrtus, is meaningful only insofar as it is countered and outpaced by the prince's horsemanship. The horses of Absyrtus (and Aron) are deadly, and are emphasized partners in their master's martial triumph in the violence of lines 522-3.[339] Success with horses is the least that readers would expect from an iteration of Phaethon, and the joint effort and splendour shared by human and horse is the main distinguishing feature between Absyrtus/Aron and the former's charred uncle. The simultaneous reality and functionality, as well as heroic nature, of the relationship between Absyrtus and his team, is highlighted by the companion-piece representation of his friend Aron, where the sheer brilliance of visible presence is the primary focus. There is a divine aspect in the beauty and terror of the spectacle of horse and horseman killing, but it is in the epic-heroic context of war and martial prowess and success, far separated from the divine catastrophe so closely tied to Absyrtus' Apollonian counterpart.[340] VF has retained much of the celestial, indeed solar, impact of the imagery. Yet the human-horse dynamic is grounded firmly in the mortal plane, characterized by shared action on the bloody battlefield.

Though AR's use of the image of Phaethon links Absyrtus' end to his uncle's tragic demise, the undermining of this may have implications for Absyrtus' end in VF. Any speculation must be acknowledged as such, but it is likely VF must have anticipated his readers' curiosity about the fate of Medea's brother, whether it would have eventually

---

[338]Starry images link them also to the Dioscuri, and to Jason himself, aligned with Sirius in a simile at 6.604-8.

[339]Words like *impulsu, gemitus,* and *premit* are consonant with the hoof-beats and nickers of horses, though Absyrtus is the subject of the verbs in ll. 522-3.

[340]One might ask what prevents the horses from being mere instruments. The Caspians' dogs have already been demonstrated to charge eagerness, and in the chariot disaster, the horses kill *non sponte*. Presumably, then, horses can kill, at the direction of their riders, willingly. This is admittedly a deduction; further support for their place as partners rather than as instruments will be provided below.

been included in the text. The reworking of the Phaethon-Absyrtus parallel in VF is supplemented by closer parallels between the two youths. Absyrtus' position among the Colchian warriors and aggressive leader of their pursuit of the *Argo* mirrors Jason's role as captain of the Minyae. Speculation about Absyrtus' death in VF must consider what would have been the complex interaction between VF's depiction of the two men almost as equals, and the early phase of the tragic trajectory of Medea, a trajectory anticipated proleptically so often in the epic: this phase in the myth tradition is strongly punctuated by her role in the death of her (often younger and/or naive) brother.[341] Yet the last scene in which he appears gives no hint as to Absyrtus' end, but does include a perhaps troubling detail. When Absyrtus arrives at Peuce in his *father's* fleet, *cum classe parentis*, 8.261, he is brandishing a torch in menace: *profugis infestam lampada Grais/concutiens*, 'Absyrtus shak[es] a hostile torch at the fleeing Greeks'. 8.262-3a.

Nevertheless, it is the image of Absyrtus in a/the chariot of the Sun in Book 6, his horses trampling his foes, which is his definitive Phaethon, or rather, non-Phaethon moment.[342] Rather than an ambitious but inexperienced youth at the mercy of spirited, divinely-tasked horses panicked by distrust, Absyrtus holds his own. Phaethon's mismanagement of his team cost him his life, a memory explicitly evoked elsewhere in the narrative, but here effectively kept at arm's length to allow for the development of VF's more mature Absyrtus. This does not mean that the grandson of Sol is characterized completely independently of his uncle. Rather, Phaethon's immaturity is recalled primarily for the sake of highlighting VF's novel narrative choice, and the impact of effective human-horse pairing. In contrast to Phaethon, and to the trusting Apsyrtos (ἀταλὸς πάις) of AR 4.460, the sun-like warriors of VF, Absyrtus especially, are men who are in control, effectively teamed with their equine subjects—or partners, depending on perspective (the question of subjection and/or equality of relationship will garner more focus in the following pages).

VF has acknowledged his inheritance of AR's Apsyrtos, but has offered a refashioned one, and in spite of the allusions to Phaethon, Absyrtus has improved upon his uncle. Sol's sense of foreboding in considering his previously fallen son is well-founded, as the Minyae do successfully rob Aeetes. Yet Apsyrtos' history was perhaps not bound to repeat itself in VF's text. The team of horses here, so ominous in their connotations but properly managed, are not driven to catastrophe—they valiantly carry

[341] My thanks to Helen Lovatt and Mairéad McAuley for their guidance on this point.
[342] See n.336 above; in appearance, Absyrtus actually seems more closely assimilated to Sol than to Phaethon.

their masters on to victory. It can certainly be argued that the horses are not truly partners. Absyrtus and Aron clearly know how to make their creatures work with and for them.[343] Here the animal world is fully subjected to the warrior, and directed successfully toward human ends. Nevertheless, like the Caspians' dogs, the horses are not mere instruments, practically (and psychologically) essential, but are subjective partakers in their masters' radiance and glory. This can be inferred not only from the literary heritage summarized above about the nature of warhorses, but also from VF's subjectivized, empathetic horses, especially those in the funeral, and as will be seen, those represented elsewhere on the battlefield. Finally, it must be admitted that as the earth is scorched in the Phaethon episode, these are animals driven to kill—but with deliberation and skill. Destruction is the reality of war, which will become all too clear in its impact upon both human and animal in the next section.

ii. Cost

Humans' and horses' interdependence and mutual vulnerability is addressed by both Ps.-Xenophon and Pliny. In spite of the striking sheen of Absyrtus and Aron and their equine comrades, most of the representations of the relationship between the species in VF is characterized by this vulnerability. This he nevertheless uses, perhaps counter-intuitively, to emphasize the true, even moving, closeness of the bond between certain individual humans and their animals. Horses and humans had fought and died side by side throughout the epic tradition, but VF, drawing together several different cavalry moments from the most recent models, blurs the boundaries between human and equine in an unprecedented way. The horse is not simply a safe seat which, when felled, puts its master at greater risk. The animal actually experiences the madness of war—apart from or in addition to fright or panic after a direct attack—and experiences it in tandem with humans. Rather grimly, it is moments of shared death that VF uses to show the nature of horse-human partnership, even friendship. In battle, the animals in particular pay the price for martial partnership with humans, but in doing so are presented practically as equals. Uniquely in the chariot disaster, the placing of horses in a position

[343]cf. the demise of Armes, a warrior fighting for Perses' in a bizarre costume, as if impersonating Pan, at 6.535-9. Armes' penchant for terrorizing livestock in disguise (6.530-3) will do him no good in the face of experienced warriors who see through his fraud. The association of Absyrtus with the horses of the Sun is not tragic or foreboding—he is evidently much more competent than his late uncle. His capability with them on the battlefield, and Aron's victory over the presumptuous and foolish would-be Pan, signify a fittingly divine dynamic between the prince and his special chariot-team, and Aron and his horse, which almost wears his cloak with him (526-7). Armes' appropriated wild, animalistic identity is first mocked, then destroyed by Absyrtus' glowing counterpart. See Ch. 4.a.i. below.

previously occupied by humans in generic precursors indicates an assimilation of both function and mentality, with harrowing results for both animal and human. Later, the death of a horse and its man, here prefaced by a brief discussion of human expectations —fair or not—of their horses, will underline the very personal and individual relationship created by the shared labour of warhorse and warrior.

The Chariot Disaster: Shared Psychology[344]

While the state of mind of a specific horse is often omitted in specific instances, as in the case of Oncheus' mount below, at other times it is stated, as in a horse suicide passage of Pliny (see below) or in the death of Murranus in the *Aeneid.* Aeneas fells Murranus as he vaunts and 'remembers' his heritage, by knocking him out of his chariot, *Aen.* 12.529-34. After Aeneas strikes him down, Murranus is tangled in the yoke and traces, and in spite of their master's recent self-identification, his horses are *nec domini memores*, 'not mindful of their master'. They trample him to death, acting as a weapon for the enemy. This episode is something of a sequel to Aeneas' assault of the charioteer Niphaeus at *Aen*. 10.570b-74, where Niphaeus' horses are frightened and flee, but do not explicitly trample their master. VF draws from both of these Virgilian passages in his depiction of battle-chaos.

In the case of a great mass of cavalry, the success of a charge largely depends on the emotions of the horses. For calamity to horse and human comes not only to pairs, but also to entire forces, as in the chariot disaster of Ariasmenus' host at *Arg.*6.386-426.[345] In the battle for the body of the Argonaut Canthus, the pro-Aeetes Amazons together attack the nemesis of the Minyae, Gesander, and finally kill him, though the sight of him at the moment of death still frightens Idas (6.370b-82). With such a warrior from the side of Perses fallen, the Persean ally Ariasmenus believes it is time for him to lead his army of chariots into the fray. His force is so immense and overwhelming, it is compared to the Jovian deluge in Pyrrha's time (6.386-95). They charge, but *nullo discrimine*, perhaps a foretaste of what is to come after Pallas steps in on behalf of the Argonauts:

> aegida tum primum virgo spiramque Medusae
> ter centum saevis squalentem sustulit hydris,

[344]See an alternative discussion of this passage in Mackay (2019), with an emphasis on focalization and object reception.
[345]Inspiration can be found in Hom. *Il*.15.318-22 and Luc. 7.567b-73, Wijsman (2000) 156; see also Spaltenstein (2005) 115-6.

quam soli vidistis, equi. pavor occupat ingens
excussis in terga viris diramque retorquent
in socios non sponte luem. tunc ensibus uncis
implicat et trepidos lacerat discordia currus.

Then for the first time the maiden raised up the aegis
and the coil[s] of Medusa, scaly with three hundred fierce serpents,
which you alone, horses, saw. Great fear seizes them, their men
knocked backward, and unwillingly they turn back dire ruin
against their companions. Then, with the curved blades
chaos entangles and tears apart the alarmed chariots. [6.396-401]

The fact that Pallas targets the horses, rather than the humans, is emphasized by the narrator's address to the animals themselves. In the Iliadic template for divine intervention with the aegis, Apollo explicitly targets the Danaans, and the men are terrified and flee like stampeding livestock—but not like horses: δ' ὥς τ' ἠὲ βοῶν ἀγέλην ἢ πῶϋ μέγ' οἰῶν— cattle and sheep, before a wild beast.[346] A more direct model, in visual terms, is found in the Niphaeus encounter in *Aeneid* 10. Aeneas lays low enemies all around him, and has just been compared in lines 565-8 to the hundred-hander Aegaeon, who is also many-headed and many-torsoed—monstrous like Medusa. Immediately following this simile, he turns and faces the four-horse chariot of Niphaeus, and with only his raging movement and visage (*dira frementem*) throws the chariot-team into panic: *metu versi retroque ruentes/effunduntque ducem rapiuntque ad litora currus,* 'Turned by fear they rush back and pour out their leader and snatch the chariot toward the shore', (10.572-3). VF reverts to the aegis as the inciter of madness, but as in *Aeneid* 10, it is the horses rather than the men who are horror-struck. Pallas' deliberate visual assault on the horses with an object laden with mythical meaning and literary past credits them with an almost metapoetic recognition of the object.[347] Warhorses were rigorously trained and expected to be fearless in combat, and presumably regularly face the frightening devices—similarly inanimate—elsewhere described in epic.[348] But this is a revelation that is solely for them, and channels

[346]Hom. *Il.* 15.323. Of course, VF's use of the term *primum* may signpost the fact that this is a proleptic moment, a precursor to the events of the *Iliad*.
[347]See Mackay (2019) on the crediting of the horses here with participation in mytho-cultural memory and object recognition.
[348]Cf. the monsters on the shield of Canthus (see App. A.3.) or that of Aventinus in Verg. *Aen*. 7.659-69.

previous assaults through presentation of the aegis by the gods. Pallas (really, VF) chooses not to command or awe the animals by revealing her presence, or, like Aeneas, menacing them with gestures, but directs toward them a psychological weapon previously used on humans. It is coming face to face not simply with something frightening, but with Medusa—again. Pallas' act and its effectiveness underscores a shared mental and emotional state of both horses and warriors on the field, and the different ways in which civil war might be illustrated are exemplified in the consequences.

The effect of the horses turning back upon Niphaeus in Virgil, leaving him vulnerable—amplified in Murranus' death via the detail of the team's trampling—is heightened in VF by the fact that the weaponized chariots, drawn by the horses and a mark of the technological ingenuity of their humans, kill their drivers, who are *socii*, whereas Niphaeus is *dux,* Murranus, *dominus*. *Socii*, with all its many nuances—martial, political, mercantile, even familial—implies a mutual understanding, interest, and even compact. Parties involved may not necessarily be 'equals', but it is clear from the shift in relational vocabulary that the horses have been turned against not masters, but comrades. What is more, unlike in Aeneas' attack upon Murranus, there is no first blow by a human. In VF the injuries are inflicted by the horses alone. Furthermore, the term *dira* has been transferred from the source of the horses' fright to the destruction they wreak upon their human companions. It is the slaughter, *non sponte*, by the horses that is gruesome and horrifying, rather than the face of the Gorgon. Pallas is then compared to Tisiphone as she drives Romans forth to civil war, with the chariots of Ariasmenus likened to two sides in internecine conflict (6.402-6). It is nevertheless an unwitting civil war, as the men at the reins are fully aware that their chariots are now turned against one another, and yet are powerless to regain control:

> ... concordes externaque fata petentes
> Palladii rapuere metus, sic in sua versi
> funera concurrunt dominis revocantibus axes.
> non tam foeda virum Laurentibus agmina terris 410
> eiecere Noti, Libyco nec talis imago
> litore cum fractas involvunt aequora puppes.
> hinc biiuges, illinc artus tenduntur eriles,

See also n.378.

quos radii, quos frena secant, trahiturque trahitque
currus caede madens atroque in pulvere regum
viscera nunc aliis, aliis nunc curribus haerent.

Of one mind, seeking foreigners' destruction,
dread [wrought by] Pallas seized them, and thus turned toward
their own funerals they rush together, with the drivers trying to turn
back the axles.
Not so appalling is the heap of men the North Winds have thrown up
upon Laurentian land, not such is the sight on the Libyan shore,
when the sea hurls about shattered ships.
Here are scattered the chariot horses, there the limbs of the masters,
these the wheels, these the reins cut, and chariot both drags
and is dragged damp with gore, and in the blackened dust
the entrails of kings cling now to some, now to other, chariots. [6.407b-16]

As the force falls apart, it is evident that the horses' terror has not been imparted to the humans. Ariasmenus' men are still focused on killing their enemies, *externa fata*, and yet they are prevented from doing so by Pallas. This, however, is not accomplished by driving them mad or frightening them to flight. Instead, they are totally lucid but ignorant of Pallas' intervention, helpless to regain control of their terrified horses. They can only watch not their deaths, but their *funerals*, racing to meet them in the scythes of their compatriots' chariots.[349] The terminology suggests a bitter irony: death in battle brings with it the counterpart rites of mourning, a means of maintaining social cohesion and achieving emotional closure, as discussed in Chapter 1, and as a means of honouring the sacrifice of the dead and imprinting their deeds on the communal memory, as in the case of the dogs in 3.b.i. In VF, animals and humans together participate in all these aspects of funerary ritual. But in the collapse of Ariasmenus' forces, the physical proximity is dangerous, since Pallas pits the animals against their human counterparts. The madness of the horses on the one hand, and the helpless awareness of the humans on the other, show how the species, who could otherwise share in both action and the ritual that follows it, have been so totally sundered from each other through Pallas' influence over their minds, by revelation to the one and

[349]I thank the anonymous referee reviewing Mackay (2019) for raising this point.

concealment from the other. The physical consequences follow, and the difference in perception perhaps makes little difference at all, except to heighten the terror of the humans who only know their horses and technology have turned against them.

The psychological aspects of civil war add a disturbing edge to the scene's brutality, including the double instrumentalization of the horses, their forcible mental and moral separation from their human *socii*, and the failure of humans to understand the stakes of the war they have prepared for. Both species must pay for human foolishness, and the future funerals they face—a sort of paradox, since they will not really witness their own funerals—will not feature the honour bestowed on those who are killed by the enemy, but rather confused regret over death due to equine friendly fire, a perverted communal experience.

The horror of the scene is further insisted upon by comparison with shipwrecks, 'natural' disasters. In turn the repetition in line 414, echoed by the chiasmus in 416, emphasizes both the confusion and the span of time during which the mayhem continues (notably longer and more static than the trampling of Murranus), as well as embodies the noise, shock, and the back-and-forth, all-encompassing nature of the panic. There is a precedent for such human-animal tumult on the battlefield, described at great length and including a menagerie of species at *DRN* 5.1308-40. Lucretius describes how humans had experimented with wild animals like boars and lions, or unsuitable domesticates, like bulls, attempting to train and use them as live weapons on the battlefield. All goes horribly awry, with humans and horses (esp. at 1323-33) torn apart by the wild animals among their ranks, which cannot be controlled once on the field. The beasts, turning upon their handlers and fellow animals, particularly the horses, are described as 'allies', e.g. *validis socios caedebant apri dentibus*, 'the wild boars were cutting down their allies with their strong tusks', 5.1326.

Here in Colchis, the chaos of war infects the one species apparently reliable in Lucretius, and in the melee, they are both the wild and partner animals seen in *DRN*, caught up and acting in martial madness, and falling as its victims. Horses kill and are killed, as the chariots drag and are dragged, and their blood darkens the field with their masters'. *Regum* is an ironic choice, a connotative shift from the earlier *dominis* and *eriles*. The humans, before described as the *socii* of the horses (as the *socii* of Lucretius' boars), are also chiefs and kings: the social dynamic between the humans and horses is undermined by the horses' actions against them, while the status of the humans as masters—perhaps from the horses' perspective—is undone by the horses' terror.

Furthermore, the language used points to a mirroring of human political as well as social relationships, and the undoing of these ties in the cavalry reflects the situation between humans: in addition to technology, however, animal allies are weaponized to self-destruct, through a mythical gesture and shared madness that only some in the group inexplicably experience. At the most basic level, the two species are not just companions, but are working toward a common goal with shared consequences for their behaviour. Yet the humans' efforts here are ineffectual against the divine appropriation of their animals as weapons against them. This is a supernatural disaster, and VF's deliberate characterization of it as an image of internecine conflict, with the underlying theme of mass suicide, tinges it with moral repugnance.

In turn, the chariot catastrophe illustrates more general truths about civil war: it can begin with members of one 'side' acting in panic or desperation, with the other side initially hesitant or resistant. In the end, neither can stand against the overwhelming momentum of madness. The disaster also invites a consideration of the intersection between martial madness and the political 'progress' arguably offered in Jupiter's *Weltenplan*: Pallas with her old mythical object derails human innovation and ingenuity, causing Ariasmenus' technology, combined with alliance with horses, to backfire. Virgil had pointed to a more generalised imagining of (civil) war and its rage as a chariot race, in which the horses and chariot hurtle forward with the drivers unable to keep control of them, the reins useless (*Geo*. 1.509-14). Here in Colchis the horses actually participate in the 'war' in both literal and figurative senses: this is a battle, not a race, and their rush becomes a civil war in which they kill the drivers on their own side. The horses are the means by which the charioteers are 'turned' against each other, and thus are part of the unfolding civil war in miniature, made to bear the consequences of war—total ruin, and this time, there is no glory, and only ruin in partnership.

Horses & their Men: Rider & Mount as Brothers

At this juncture, it is worth noting that human expectations of horses affects interpretation of the animals' behaviour. The narrator has revealed to the reader the cause of the chariot panic, while Ariasmenus and his men may themselves believe the horses turned cowardly, were spooked by the enemy or each other, and so on. Conflicting human expectations can put an animal in a difficult position. While Castor's experience with horses will feature in the next chapter, the enemy's perception of the horse which Castor captures and rides articulates the expectation of the horseman

in general, and reveals the level of moral understanding and responsibility humans attribute to horses, at least in epic. Gela, an ally of Perses now dead, rode a horse into battle which has caught the eye of Castor, and Castor manages to wrangle it and maintain his seat throughout the rest of the action (6.203-55). While Gela's horse acts as confirmation of Castor's reputation, as will be explored later, and an opportunity for him to gain divine approval, it offends Medores, Gela's brother. He angrily charges the horse with disloyalty, and failure to live up to two expectations: first, that it return to its home lines with Gela's family arms, and second, that it not offer itself for use to the enemy. Indeed, Medores actually holds the horse to higher account than he does Castor himself. The first part of Medores' prayer is a wish to die as his brother's companion, while his goal in vengeance is directed toward the horse he sees as a traitor, rather than to Castor, who has in fact committed an above-board act of war, killing the enemy and claiming the spoils. Given Castor's skill, Gela's horse has no other choice but to obey. Still, Medores' rage gets him killed (by Phalerus in line 217-18b), but his own horse does its duty: *ad socias sonipes citus effugit alas,* 'the charger swiftly flees away to the lines of its allies', 218. Here, it suffices to say that this episode exemplifies human expectations of certain animals, and Medores gives voice to his people's demands of their horses: loyalty. Castor sees the horse as a means of self-glorification, of which Jupiter approves. Medores sees the horse as a comrade with obligations to their—the horse's and Medores'—tribe.

Needless to say, it is essential for the warhorse to be as courageous and indeed as eager for the fight as its human counterpart. Cavalry and chariot horses were also noted in antiquity for their intelligence, desire for glory, which corresponded to their human counterparts, and loyalty to a single handler, which at times they were said to prove upon their masters' deaths.[350] Pliny records the story of a horse who ends his grief and avenges his master at the same time, by suicide: *Phylarchus refert Centaretum e Galatis, in proelio occiso Antiocho, potitum equo eius conscendisse ovantem, at illum indignatione accensum domitis frenis, ne regi posset, praecipitem in abrupta isse exanimatumque una*; 'Phylarchus reports that Centaretus of the Galatians, with Antiochus having been killed in battle, having taken possession of his horse mounted it in triumph, but the horse inflamed with indignation at the conquest of its reins, so that it

[350]Plin. *HN* 8: intelligence, 65.159. Their hunger for glory on the field and in races is attested in poetry (e.g. Verg. *G*. 3.102,112), and this along with other anthropomorphic traits may have been ascribed to horses in the wider culture, as found in Ps-Xen. *Eq. al*. 3.7-9 and Plin. *HN* 65.160-1. Cf. the *equi perfidi* in Apul. *Met.* 3.26-7.

would not be mastered, went headlong off a cliff [into a precipice] and it was killed together with him', (Plin. *N.H.* 8.64.158). Ps.-Xenophon understandably links loyalty to obedience (3.6), and notes that well-trained horses earn fame not only for the horsemen who manage them, but even become famous in their own right (11.13), and from antiquity horses' names survive like those of notable humans.[351]

The deaths of individual beloved horses in epic outside of VF do elicit sympathy. Rhaebus' disfiguring fall upon Mezentius, after their shared moment of grief, is an example.[352] Yet, VF's horses represent the noblest animal embodiment of heroism, with a more expressly anthropomorphic bond with humans, asserted by both the narrator himself, and by the characters in the text. In the following, such nobility may be considered wasted, the horse's courage exaggerated into senselessness. Yet the relationship is intact—the death of Oncheus with his horse is uniquely evocative, imbued with pathos for its combination of multiple allusions and unprecedented, unexplained tragedy.

As there are no references to horses in battle in Ovid, and as warhorses on the field are mentioned only once in Lucan (*BC* 4.749ff.), Virgil's horses are the primary Latin epic models for VF. In Virgil, the relationship, even interdependence, between horse and rider is emphasized repeatedly in depictions of fighting and especially of death. Rhaebus, having 'agreed' to Mezentius' request, receives a Homeric wound from Aeneas, then falls on and pins down his master (*Aen*.10.890-4), leaving him helpless before the Trojans. Tarchon and his horse, as one, move, attack, and carry off on the battle-plain (11.741-58a), inspiring an eagle simile (751-6) that could be applied to both: the eagle's talons, Tarchon; its wings, the horse. One exploit of Camilla merits special notice here. She kills two warriors together, both made vulnerable after the horse of one is stabbed:

> Tum Lirim Pagasumque super; quorum alter habenas 670
> suffosso revolutus equo dum colligit, alter
> dum subit ac dextram labenti tendit inermem,
> praecipites pariterque ruunt.

[351]See for example Toynbee (2013) 178-80, especially names noted at the bottom of 178: 'Eustolos' and 'Volens'.
[352]Their 'conversation', in itself, is laden with pathos, and arguably serves to complicate the portrait of the savage anti-hero.

> Then [Camilla kills] Liris and Pagasus above him; one of them, 670
> rolled off his pierced horse while he collects the reins, the other
> while he approaches and stretches out his unarmed hand for the one falling,
> and they rush down headlong together. [11.670-3]

In contrast, VF's direct references to horse and (named) rider in action together are rather sparse. But VF nevertheless maximises the effect of each moment, not only by alluding to multiple models in a short space, but also by amplifying the pathetic aspects of those allusions. In the midst of a sequence of rapid-fire encounters between various warriors on the Colchian battlefield, a human dies with his mount, but in quite a different way from those in the Virgilian passages. First, however, the lines immediately preceding the death of the rider Oncheus links him and his horse to the Virgilian excerpt directly above. Castor's aristeia, discussed further in Chapter 4, closes with the death of Taxes:

> seminecem Taxes Hypanin vehit atque remissum
> pone trahit fugiens et cursibus exuit hastam;
> dumque recollectam rursus locat, inruit ultro
> turbatumque Lacon et adhuc invadit inermem. 255

> Taxes carries Hypanis along half-dead, and fleeing,
> having let him fall, drags him behind, and in his course draws out his spear;
> and while he puts it, regained, back into place, on the other side the Laconian
> rushes upon him and attacks him, confused and as yet unarmed. [6.252-5]

Castor and Camilla take their victims by surprise—even *inermes*—while they are trying to regain control or possession—*colligit*, *recollectam*—of horse or weapon. Yet, in VF the image of two companions dying together is delayed, shown instead in a seemingly unrelated event on the field:

> impulit adverso praeceps equus Onchea conto
> nequiquam totis revocantem viribus armos 257
> in latus. accedit sonipes, accedit et ipse
> frigidus. arma cadunt, rorat procul ultima cuspis.

> His horse [running] headlong drives Oncheus,
> Trying with all his might to turn back its shoulders to the side,257
> to no avail, onto a javelin opposite; the charger goes, and Oncheus
> himself goes on the spear, cold; his weapons fall, the spear-point
> at a distance behind him drips. (birdlime simile follows) [6.256-9]

Into this one event, VF packs references to three equestrian events in the *Aeneid.*[353] Notable words and phrases include the detail of the horse's *armi*, reminiscent of Rhaebus' dislocated shoulder as he rears and then tumbles over Mezentius (*Aen*. 10.894), and line 252, describing Hypanis' dragging along of the hapless *seminecis* Taxes, echoes Tarchon's grapple with Venulus after snatching him off his horse (11.741-4). The immediate model for the action, however, is actually the double-death of Liris and Pagasus, which VF has referenced in two consecutive but separate moments. While at first Hypanis is the reflection of Liris and Pagasus, unprepared for an attack, it is Oncheus and his horse described with *praeceps*, like Camilla's quarry, who embody the motif of twofold-death of warriors. VF extends the description of the fall, exchanging *pariter ruunt* for *accedit sonipes, accedit et ipse*, a repetition which evokes the grim piercing through of first one, then the other.[354] VF's horse and rider die together by the same instrument, with the much more graphic *rorat procul ultima cuspis* replacing the brief, and less immediate, *suffosso equo.* The impaling of both animal and human is shown as both a double and one and the same event. Furthermore, the description is much more elaborate than in the model, and dwells far longer on the moment of death, which is not instantaneous—Oncheus at least struggles and suffers before at last succumbing, punctuated, or grotesquely elaborated upon, by the birdlime simile.

As in the Pliny excerpt on Centaretus above, here the horse is insensible to the direction of his rider. The horse's agency in both cases is clear, with the human helpless to steer his mount away from danger. In VF, however, the reason for the charger's unyielding gallop to its doom is not given. Ps.-Xenophon warns that riders entrust their lives to their horses in times of danger, and that the closer they come to enemy lines, the more deliberate they must be about maintaining control over their horses.[355] With these points in mind, it is difficult to discern responsibility—let alone cause—for the fatal

[353]It is also a logical continuation of a passage in Lucan, in the vain, directionless actions of Curio's cavalry at 4.749-64.
[354]Cf. V. Fl. 6.414.
[355]Ps.-Xen. *Eq. al.* 4.1; 8.12.

rush. Oncheus' trust in his horse may be misplaced, implied in the description of the trapped bird in the simile as having believed—*fidentem*—in the protection of its tree, which has failed to 'protect' it from the birdlime. Yet Oncheus does not curse his horse, nor does the narrator blame the animal. The enjambment of *frigidus* links the coldness to the dropped and now meaningless *arma* in line 259, while it describes the effect of terror and death on Oncheus. As in the Book 2 horse simile discussed in the previous chapter, the term *frigidus* is applied to something other than the horse, though it may be applicable to it by association. Still, contrary to the useless horse in Virgil, VF avoids direct description of the horse by means of the term. Also, here, it is death itself which chills fervor, not fear or indolence. Thus there is no doubt about the pair's courage.

Regardless of culpability, it must be emphasized that Oncheus' horse takes the place of a human companion in a curious turn on the Virgilian model. As Antiochus' horse and Centaretus die *una* in Pliny's passage, Oncheus and his horse are pinned to each other. In death they are a unit, as they participated in battle while living, and mirror the image of two Virgilian human companions who are shown, in the moment of death, *pariter*, demonstrating their friendship, as one reaches out to help the other. In addition, in at least two model passages, the human victims are separated, either emotionally or physically, from their horses before they are killed.[356] In death, it is the opposite for Oncheus and his animal partner. Oncheus, for his part, is described through an animal image as he flails helplessly, if *inrita concitat alas* mirrors his motion, and cries out, *implorat*, but with no human speech, like the bird, and like his horse. The horse has failed to obey the reins, and failed to protect its master, and yet there is no explicit blame laid upon it, and no mention of its emotions—but certainly it is not cowardly. The narration instead implies a partnership, the sharing in fate, of horse and human, amplifying the pathos and lengthening the description of an allusion to fallen, human, friends.

Still, the human-animal dynamic is more complicated than a suggestion of near-human mutual friendship. Horses who bolt in battle are startled by the battle generally, or by specific attacks on themselves. This explanation is missing in a death that is almost treated in isolation, following on the heels of Castor's aristeia. Oncheus' charger is set on a lethal course for no expressed reason at all, unswervingly propelling itself and its master toward their end. Like so many other casualties of war, the horse is insensible to danger and carried away beyond measure, a victim of battle fury fallen

[356]Hom. *Il.*16.401ff.,and Verg. *Aen*. 11.741-58 (Wijsman [2000] 114).

with its companion. Yet it is the horse's will that has fatal power, emphasized by the species reversal in the simile: the little bird demonstrates the pathetic helplessness of Oncheus on the javelin, a trapped animal at the mercy of cunning man. Oncheus' horse has joined him in the battle-lines, but it is the animal whose action, indeed his apparent frenzy in cooperation with war-making humanity, which seals the fate of his human rider. There thus seems a subtle indictment of the effect of war on nature, an extrapolation from the tragedy of the man whose horse is evidently more courageous than is good for both of them. Horses and humans, in groups or in friendship pairs, share in both the spoils and suffering of war, and that suffering in multiple aspects—not only physical, but also emotional and psychological. But this shared experience somehow draws the two together, bridging the species gap in a unique way. In the midst of madness and bloodshed, there is yet something touching and evocative in the depth of a relationship between human and animal tested and proven in death. It is a closeness that can only be described by paralleling the horses to humans, the humans to animals, and even the shared death of horse and human, to the bond of fallen brothers.

Conclusion.

VF uses original imagery, sometimes even original scenarios, to explore the power and relational dynamics between humans and animals. In the categories of sacrifice and hunting, humans are clearly dominant. But this fact is not presented without complicating nuances, both emotional and moral. In the necromancy ritual which ends with the human heroes' escape from the human villain, their victimhood is shared with the chosen bull, but their victory is not. Their own plight is forgotten in the transfer of the reader's gaze to the animal, taking in his appearance, his perspective, and his emotion. But his experience and any empathy evoked for him do not save him from the hand of the master of the ritual. There is a role occupied by both the bull and Aeson through shared victimhood and the tendency in epic for substitution to blur the boundary between victim and sacrificant. But the humans can effect escape from and triumph over the tyrant, while the bull in both confusion and fear must submit to human will and human need. In his portrayals of hunting, VF takes empathy with the victim even further, not only by focusing on animals' vulnerability and emotion, but also by dehumanizing the human hunters, denying them human features or deflating the value of their conquests. Human superiority—of a sort—cannot be resisted by either domesticated or wild animals in these contexts. But VF asserts that it can be

challenged, and invites the reader to do just that by considering animal life and feeling in itself while either emphasising shared characteristics between human and animal (in which animals are still at a disadvantage), or denying the human nobility in his dominion.

In other contexts, however, human influence over animals draws both into close, political and/or familial-level relationships. The reality and depth of these relationships is demonstrated in joint pursuits and activities, yet is sadly most clearly demonstrated in death. The bonds which are forged by shared training and experience, and indeed generic heritage, and are as meaningful as that between humans, ironically functions to communicate two conflicting truths about the partnership between humans and animals. The first is that the devotion, if not affection, is mutual, and so the loss of life of animals and humans together is a pathos-rich image of friendship, and is memorialised even on the level of civic ritual. But the second is that this friendship enhances suffering, for both humans and animals on the field of war pay the price for human behaviour.

Chapter 4. Perspectives: Animals as & on Humans' Personal Objects

'...And then, that evening
Late in the summer the strange horses came.
We heard a distant tapping on the road,
A deepening drumming; it stopped, went on again
And at the corner changed to hollow thunder.
We saw the heads
Like a wild wave charging and were afraid.
We had sold our horses in our fathers' time
To buy new tractors. Now they were strange to us
As fabulous steeds set on an ancient shield.
Or illustrations in a book of knights...'
-Edwin Muir, *The Horses.*

Rounding out the thesis involves looking at angles of human reception and representation of interactions with animals. Thus, the discussion here is a complement to Chapter 3 and demonstrates how humans are shaped by their relationships and experience with other species. The associations created by the representations of interactions with animals, and indeed by representational uses of animals, are sometimes imprinted so deeply as signifiers in the human mind, that real animals connote imagery from temporally or spatially distant contexts. This is so in the excerpt from Edwin Muir's poem, wherein the arrival of real horses remind the writer of representations of horses laden with cultural meaning. This chapter's different level of animal-human dynamics requires a different sort of introduction, which will establish the approach to this aspect of interaction and justify its place in the study of animal subjectivity and relationships between animals and humans. Focus on this less direct aspect of transpecies relating, a sort of reception, further allows for insight into VF's assessment of that reception by humans, and even of humans' behaviour and attitudes toward animals. For the purposes of this chapter, the evidence of human reception and use of animal-human interactions will consist of humans' personal objects which are made from or feature images of animals in *Arg*.

Both men and women use animal-derived objects and imagery to characterize themselves and their experiences, and animals are especially useful in telling humans' stories, and creating and representing human identities. At times these stories tell of associations between humans and animals, or of human victory over animal antagonists. In still other cases, animal imagery is invoked as part of appropriation of animal traits

considered desirable to, and/or purportedly shared by, the human subject. In certain contexts, the objects humans use communicate the owners' identity and position to others, especially the objects' immediate viewers (in the case of armour, for example, where menacing images are meant to frighten as well as to inform opponents). The Golden Fleece is itself an animal product, set up publicly to be viewed as a dedicated object, and as an object with familial history and special properties is the main goal of Jason's quest. It is however not the only animal product or attribute—certainly not the only animal skin—to feature as a device in motivating the characters and furthering the plot, nor is it the only animal product to carry thematic significance.

While of course a focus on animal representations—especially via animal products—marks a significant departure from the living animals analyzed thus far, this chapter is important to the discussion because the material use of animals provides some of the best evidence and insight for not only human perception of animals themselves, but also how humans make use of those perceptions in communicating their identities, especially in terms of shaping representations of themselves through the use of objects and symbol. They also use objects associated with or depicting animals to help make sense of their own experiences and categorize relationships. Thus, animals on or as humans' personal objects, though perhaps neither living nor 'real', nevertheless further illuminate the relationship between humans and animals. A close look at these objects also reveals how animals function in and reciprocally impact on a world ostensibly shaped by the humans who 'receive' and type animals, and then create roles for them, even as part of human-human interactions. Also significant is the fact that in many of these cases, the animal parts and images do represent specific, individual animals that did or do exist on some level, and it is only in one specific context that a type of animal is invoked in a more general sense, mostly due to assumptions about the animal's experience and abilities.[357]

In other cases where the individuality of the source animal is suppressed, a turn of events may cause that animal's individuality to be reasserted against human priorities. In addition, as will be seen, because of the frequent association by humans of themselves with the divine, several animals here are somehow divine in nature or origin. They are treated as an exception to the rule previously excluding them from discussion

[357]Cf. however the Corallians at 6.88-91, whose arms are decorated with pictures of porcupines. Presumably this is an instance of more familiar heraldry, where the animals displayed are not meant to allude to a specific animal or experience with it in particular, but rather to a characteristic or set of characteristics purportedly shared by the animals and humans who self-identify using their images.

in the above three chapters, as they are required to fill out the spectrum of animal appropriation by humans. For like natural animals, supernatural animals are subject to human projection of meaning onto them—at the same time as they participate in reception and interpretation of natural animals' observable behaviour—and consequent use of their images and even their bodies. The relationship between these animals and their divine anthropomorphic counterparts, and the insights they offer into VF's divine machinery, nevertheless merits further study beyond the scope of this thesis. For now, even supernatural animals prove essential to analysing the appropriation aspect of human-animal dynamics.

This chapter will explore, first, the taking and appropriation of animal products by humans—all skins, by all males—and the reasons for, and success or failure of, such attempts at appropriation, and the attendant violence and consequences required by this appropriation, which always necessitates the animal's death. Second, the focus turns to the non-animal product imagery of animals on heroes' arms and clothing, and the way in which a hero's identity and life is bound up in association with the animal(s) with which he chooses to represent himself. Women's use of animal imagery in their own work of representing self and others in weaving, and in their imaginations, balance the chapter. Important to note is that these animal images in fabric may not represent 'normal' or 'real' animals, but divine associates or the divine in animal form. Nevertheless, there is nothing except the context of the women's art to indicate the animals are other than normal—the animal imagery is entirely naturalistic in appearance. In these last two sections, the negotiation or minimising of violence, important in the first, will be discussed as it is seen in the arms and textiles.

There is a clear human gender distinction seen in several aspects when comparing objects belonging to or made by men and women, from the contexts in and for which objects are made; to the social status and roles of the designers; the media used; from the relationship between the makers and the eventual owners of the objects; to, especially important, the objects' representation of the respective relationships between animals and men, and animals and women. Women's particular use of animal imagery as distinct from that of men will also provide an alternative lens through which to evaluate the relationship between humans and animals from the human perspective, and will also allow for some comparisons with parallels and precursors in the tradition. The resulting web of relationships surrounding the object, those between artist/maker, owner/displayer, and viewer/receiver (and reader), will be termed a 'visual network' at

various points in the discussion; the word is not meant to indicate anything other than the complex of links across and between different parties, which often vary from each other in nature.[358]

a. Men & Animal Skins: Trophies & Appropriation of Animal Attributes

In the *Arg.,* even passing references to animal skins may be more than mere detail due to the importance of the Fleece, and in a few cases involving supporting characters, special attention is paid to the skins and the meaning humans attribute to them. The presentation or wearing of animal skins in literature may denote or connote participation in ritual, especially that associated with Pan, Dionysius or Artemis, or a connection to humans' more primitive past, may signify prowess in the hunt or in heroic exploits, or connect the wearer to animal symbols of their families or place of origin.[359] Important here, the use of animal skins requires violence and death for their procurement, perpetrated by the humans against the animal victims. In VF, even when the eventual owners of the skins are not the killers of the animal, the skins themselves often invoke the original act of violence as part of a threat (from the wearer) of violence toward animals or other humans. Ironically, some supporting characters who participate in action against animals meet with violent ends themselves in *Arg*. In at least one instance this is due to the act of violence itself. In the cases of Hercules and Jason, their respective uses of skins, especially as part of self-representation, have quite different consequences. In the previous chapter animals are shown to be a part of the class of warriors on the battlefield in their own right, at least in partnership if not friendship with humans. As will be seen, the reasons for and association with humans' appropriation of the skins of animals for martial contexts echo the human-human interactions with respect to armour in earlier epic, inviting a further comparison between animal and human in this sphere. The claiming of trophies and despoiling of vanquished human enemies, especially as problematized in Virgil, proves to be an important benchmark for analysing this angle of animal-human relations.

---

[358]See pp.48-50 of the General Introduction.

[359]Ritual participation involves not only wearing skins of animals associated with the god, but also tearing animal flesh, Harden (2014) 26, 38, or using it to beat spectators, as in the Lupercalia, Sachs (1963) 267-9, 271; the skins of sacrificed animals were often hung in sacred groves or sanctuaries as permanent representatives of the whole, Ekroth (2014) 337-8. Virgil notes the wearing of animal skins as a feature of simpler times, Verg. *G.* 3.382-3, Gale (1991) 418; Hercules' iconography almost always includes the skin of the Nemean lion; Polynices and Tydeus in Stat. *Theb.* wear the skins of animals significant to their character and origins, the lion and boar respectively, Bonds (1985) 232-3.

i. Cyzicus, Armes & Myraces: Failed Appropriations

The significance of certain Valerian characters' use of animal products is demonstrated in the association of those products with these characters' deaths. In one case, not only the individual human's fortunes but also those of his kingdom and the crew of the *Argo* come about as a direct result of his treatment and appropriation of an animal and its skin. And again, it is one of VF's original turns on a traditional episode that includes insertion of divine motivation *and* an animal.[360] As well as being the first in the text, this is the incident of clearest and strongest association of use of an animal skin with a human's demise. As such, and occurring within a programmatically significant encounter, the incident informs the reading and expectations of later references in the epic to appropriation of animal parts. This appropriation is, of course, Cyzicus' symbolic declaration of his successful lion-hunt on Dindymus. The Minyae, having made fast friends with Cyzicus and his people, have already departed to continue their journey. Apparently, on the same day of their departure, Cyzicus ventures out on a fateful expedition:

> Dindyma sanguineis famulum bacchata lacertis
> dum volucri quatit asper equo silvasque fatigat
> Cyzicus, ingenti praedae deceptus amore
> adsuetum Phrygias dominam vectare per urbes
> oppressit iaculo redeuntem ad frena leonem.
> et tunc ille iubas captivaque postibus ora
> imposuit, spolium infelix divaeque pudendum.
> quae postquam Haemoniam tantae non immemor irae
> aerisono de monte ratem praefixaque regum
> scuta videt...
>
> As Cyzicus shook Dindymus, which revels with the bleeding arms
> of slaves [devotees],
> and harshly wearied the woods upon his swift horse,
> deceived by his great love of the hunt,
> he fell upon a lion with his javelin,
> [a lion] accustomed to draw the Phrygian lady through the cities

[360]Cf. Juno's deployment of the stag in the rape of Hylas later in the book, 3.545ff.

and at that moment returning to the reins.
And then, he hung up the mane and conquered face [over] the door,
an unlucky spoil and shame to the goddess.
She, not unmindful of her great anger, looks after the Haemonian ship
from the bronze-sounding mountain and at the
shields of princes hung [on its sides]… [3.20-29a]

Cyzicus does not wear the skin of his kill, but rather turns it into an object of spectacle by hanging it as a trophy. The meaning of trophies in epic was complicated by, for example, Virgil's treatment, on which more below, but if Cyzicus' action can be treated as a parallel to the despoiling of a dead human warrior, the handling of the spoils is all-important. Judging by the consequences of different characters' actions in the *Aeneid*, it seems trophies ought to be dedicated to a god.[361] Self-glorification by keeping or wearing spoils, and thus failing to devote them, brings punishment. Here, in a compounding of his 'crime', Cyzicus not only fails to dedicate his spoils to a deity, but he has even taken, killed, and defaced the living property of a goddess: the lion belongs to Cybele, and the offence of its death at the hands of Cyzicus is exacerbated by his vaunt symbolised in the lion's pelt. The pelt itself, unknown to Cyzicus, communicates multiple messages simultaneously to a divergent audience. He intends the appropriated animal body to symbolise a particular claim about himself, his prowess and success against the animal. His passion in the hunt (*ingens praedae amor*) is supplemented by his pride in his victory over the animal, which he means to announce to all who pass his threshold and behold the lion.

The terms *iubas* and *ora* in line 25, 'mane' and 'face' are possibly metonymy for the lion's entire skin, though the focus on its head and mane may mean the lion is oriented by Cyzicus to face the viewer. VF's word choice invites imagination of the lion's expression, gaze, and perhaps even individuality, as well as its destroyed strength, signified by its trademark feature, the *iuba*. But the returned gaze from the lion toward the spectator highlights the other visual aspects and readings of Cyzicus' message. His own pleasure in the spoil is undermined in the split focalization of line 26. The spoil is *infelix* for the still unaware Cyzicus, from the point of view of the narrator, who is also gradually informing the narratee's reading of the skin. It is at the same time an outrageous insult and a profound embarrassment to Cybele looking upon it from a

[361]Nielson (1983) esp. 31.

distance, *pudendum*.

Cyzicus does not necessarily mean to appropriate the lion's features as talismanic qualities, as happens in other circumstances of wearing others' armour or the skins of animals (see below). Rather, through his trophy he means to emphasize his own domination over predatory nature. The token of asserted power finds its counterpart in Cybele's observation of the *Argo* and the detail of its shields, *praefixa regum scuta*, 28-9. Cyzicus' visible sign of his (unwitting) offence against the goddess is punctuated by the last word in line 26, emphasising her embarrassment, rather than her loss, placed nearer her act of vengeance. Thus her anger is based upon Cyzicus' two-fold act of contempt. Violence against the wrong animal, and published revelry in that violence, brings down Cybele's wrath upon the ostensibly powerful and successful human rejoicing in a symbol of both prowess and prestige. Unfortunately for him, that symbol was forcibly removed from a living companion and symbol of the goddess. Cyzicus' will to use subjugation of nature as part of his royal self-representation is a wrongful appropriation of a member of Cybele's retinue—part of *her* iconography—and leads eventually to self-destruction.

The hanging as trophies or other uses of animal products of hunting ought, it seems, to be handled with care. In addition, hasty assumption of objects (especially as symbols) for personal use can lead to or derive from failure to recognize what the object already means to and for someone else. The lack of recognition here leads to an appropriation of messaging that increases the offence against the goddess, with the potential multiple meanings inherent in the animal Cyzicus has chosen aggravating the situation. The breakdown, or rather, splitting of visual communication is made quite tangible. Cyzicus kills the beloved companion of a goddess, which he means to use as part of his personal and public presentation of himself. Ironically, the trophy functions instead as a herald of his contempt for Cybele, her anger and the king's doom. Multivalence arises out of an initial confusion of the identity of the object itself, but the multivalence and ambiguity of messaging—and of viewer reception—also have real consequences.

In the case of Cyzicus, the connection between action and consequence is clear, though perhaps the nature of Cyzicus' culpability is not. When VF next presents a failed appropriation, the association between appropriation and the consequence is not as clearly presented, but the antics of the human are characterized in no uncertain terms. The strange case of Armes in the battle of Book 6, mentioned briefly in the previous

chapter, is additionally complicated because it seems to involve both an attempt at appropriating the attributes of the animal whose skin Armes wears, and that of the god with whom he identifies the animal/skin, Pan. Here, appropriation is also strongly associated with deception. Donning the armour of the slain, or armour not suited to the wearer's identity, can imply self-deception—a denial of one's self or nature—and/or will to deceive others through impersonation. In the *Aeneid*, this typically leads to the wearer's death.[362] Armes appropriates an animal skin and through it also means to act the part of Pan, and probably to persuade his immediate viewers that he indeed *is* Pan. Meanwhile, the real Pan has already appeared in the battle between the Minyae and Cyzicans in Book 3, following the king's hybristic use of the lion-pelt, and Pan partners with Cybele and Bellona to create chaos. Danger and madness therefore are already defining aspects of his activity. In the action of the Colchian civil war, Armes, an ally of Perses, seems to delight in causing panic, off the battlefield as well as on it:

> at non inde procul Rambelus et acer Otaxes
> dispulerant Colchos pariterque inglorius Armes, 530
> fraude nova stabula et furtis adsuetus inultis
> depopulare greges frontem cum cornibus auxit
> hispidus inque dei latuit terrore Lycaei;
> hac tunc attonitos facie defixerat hostes.
> quem simul ac nota formidine bella moventem 535
> vidit Aron, 'pavidos te' inquit 'nunc rere magistros
> et stolidum petiisse pecus? non pascua nec bos
> hic tibi: nocturni mitte haec simulamina Panis
> neve deum mihi finge. deus quoque consere dextram.'
> sic ait intentaque adiutum missile planta 540
> derigit et lapsis patuerunt vulnera villis.

> But not far away Rambelus and violent Otaxes,
> and equally inglorious Armes, had routed the Colchians, 530
> he who was accustomed by a new trick and unavenged deceits
> to decimate herds and flocks, when he would adorn his brow with
> horns, and [in a] shaggy [pelt], would conceal himself in the terror of the

[362]Hornsby (1966) 348-9, 354-7.

Lycaean god.
And now with this visage he fixes his astonished enemies;
at the same time as he enacts unfamiliar battle with dread, 535
Aron spots him, and says, 'Do you think you are now pursuing frightened shepherds
and a stupid herd? There are neither sheep nor cattle
here for you; send/[save] these imitations of night-time Pan
and don't fashion yourself [as] the god to me; [or if] even as a god join [battle with] your right hand.'
Thus he speaks, and drives his spear helped by his foot firmly planted
and with the skins fallen away the wound shows openly. [6.529-41]

The pelt Armes wears—presumably a goat-skin—is nowhere described as belonging to a special animal, but he assigns it a special meaning by behaving as if he were Pan while wearing it. By donning the fleece and horns, Armes hopes not to self-identify with the animal, but rather by extension to take on the powers of Pan, and when he frightens herdsmen and assaults animals, he meets with success. The narrator nevertheless characterizes this success as unheroic. He first introduces Armes with the term *inglorius*, and sets up Armes' comeuppance at the hand of Aron by noting that his livestock thefts are as yet *inulta*. In Book 3, Cybele's condemnation and punishment of Cyzicus for misappropriation of her lion is clearly stated as the cause of the war between friends. Here, the death of Armes is not attributed to any judgement against him by the god he impersonates. There is at the same time no mention of Pan's favour or even notice of Armes. At first, he is successful in surprising and even scaring his opponents in battle with his bizarre costume. But before long his impersonation and herd-hunting gimmick earn the derision of Aron, whom Armes' self-styling strikes as comical, perhaps deluded, since in the press of battle, the god whose power he wishes to channel has no association with him at all. Furthermore, the detail about his activities, namely frightening sheep in his disguise and playing Pan while stealing them, point to a warped sense of power. Aron thus mocks him for his game, which consists of victimizing the vulnerable, both human, *pavidi magistri,* and animal, *stolidum pecus*.

Armes mistakes contexts and audiences, or rather, he assumes universality of reception. He presumes upon his success in one context and presents himself as Pan in another which is very different, both in terms of practical danger involved, and in the

nature and experience of his viewers, now the army and allies of Aeetes. Aron and others can read Armes' appropriated animal both for what he intends, and for what it really is, an adoption of a symbol of identity that does not rightfully belong to him. The meaning of the appropriation remains the same, but Aron, unlike animals and shepherds, reads it as deceptive and unsuited to the martial context. He recognizes the goat-skin for what Armes intends for it to be, but he knows it is the sign of an asserted or assumed role, not reality, a portrayal rather than a manifestation of Pan himself. The animal object communicates quite clearly, but the claim is not accepted.

When actually met with warriors on the field, his self-identification with Pan via an animal guise avails Armes nothing. Aron scornfully invites Armes to play the god in combat, but the disguise falls away as soon as reality hits him in the form of Aron's spear. Both the wound and Armes' true identity are clearly visible. Aron knows what Armes is playing at by reading his choice of garment, and the fact that the skin inherently has no special attributes is both proven by Armes' swift death and symbolised in its slipping off. This is also evidence that Pan, if indeed he was behind Armes' success in his herd raids, has now abandoned him, and perhaps Armes' behaviour was all his own doing to begin with. At any rate, the goat-skin is essential to the enactment of his assumed role and activities, though in the end its asserted meaning is read but rejected by his viewers and becomes a point of ridicule to his enemies, whom he hoped to shock with his adopted identity. The animal skin instead comes to represent the futility of his assumption of divine attributes, the nature of which is entirely superficial. When death comes to him, he is figuratively flayed, deprived of the skin as was the animal from which he took it.

Finally, another ally of Perses is significant for the way in which his dress features in the description of his death, and indeed of his corpse. Myraces is not the only warrior in Colchis who is wearing a tiger-pelt (Campesus is so dressed at Aeetes' banquet in 5.590), but Myraces is the only one whose garb is mentioned when he falls in battle after some success in his chariot:

> at viridem gemmis et eoae stamine silvae
> subligat extrema patrium cervice tiaran 700
> insignis manicis, insignis acinace dextro;
> improba barbaricae procurrunt tegmina plantae.
> nec latuere diu saevum spolia illa Syenen

perque levem et multo maculatum murice tigrin
concita cuspis abit. subitos ex ore cruores
saucia tigris hiat vitamque effundit erilem…

But a crown, green with jewels and the threads of the eastern wood,
[Myraces] binds round the top of his head, the head-dress of his homeland,
distinguished by his armlets, distinguished by the scimitar at his right side;
long trousers run down to his barbarian feet.
And these spoils did not long remain hidden from savage Syenes,
and through the light and spotted—with much purple—tiger [pelt]
the driven spear-point goes; the wounded tiger spews out sudden gore
from its mouth and pours out its master's life… [6.699-706]

VF dwells for four lines on Myraces' garb, from his fillets to his weaponry, the components of which signify wealth, prestige, and his eastern origin. These also make the wearer a target, as Syenes takes note of the quality of potential spoils. Of course, elsewhere the draw of beautiful objects means the death of those drawn to them, as in the cases of both Euryalus and Camilla in the *Aeneid*[363] But this is not necessarily the case in the *Arg*., as is clear in Castor's aristeia. He desires an enemy's beautiful horse and manages to capture and ride it, fighting from its back with great success (see section 2.b. below). Still, Syenes is not an Argonaut, and the aesthetic appeal of splendour is dangerous, so his attack on Myraces could prove fatal to himself. With respect to Myraces, VF delays detailing one more 'eastern', exotic feature, the *tigris*, and then focuses on it longer than any of the others. The discrepancy between the wearer's intent to impress, and the viewer's (Syenes') reaction, not awe but a desire to kill the wearer and claim the impressive objects, finds its counterpart in the split between Myraces' intended message with his appearance and the 'will' of the animal whose skin he has appropriated.[364]

Firstly, Myraces' tiger-skin ironically serves not as protection but rather as a conduit through which Syenes' spear passes. The skin in fact seems to prophesy Myraces' doom through the pattern and colour terms *maculatum* and *murice*.[365] Not

[363] V. Fl. 9.364-449 and 11.768-84, 94ff. respectively; Hornsby (1966) 350-1, 354.
[364]Here, who originally killed the tiger is not clear.
[365]Wijsman (2000) 268 on the prophetic quality of the tiger's colouring (although I am not persuaded that the pelt is necessarily 'dyed purple'.) Cf. the mixed or patchy colouring of the bull's hide in the necromancy scene, V. Fl. 1.775.

only that, but the very face of the tiger, not the man's, informs the reader-spectator that Myraces is dying. What happens in Myraces' fall is in direct contrast to Armes' case: his animal skin falls forward and covers his head and face. In a scene reminiscent of the double-death of Oncheus and his horse, the already dead tiger obscures the reader's view of the man and appears to die again, as if at first it bleeds and spits its own blood, *subitos ex ore cruores/ saucia tigris hiat,* and were Syenes' true victim.[366] Here, the assimilation of animal and human suffering removes the man from the gaze altogether, save for the use of the term *erilem*, which oddly further suggests that the tiger is alive rather than an inanimate object.[367] A further irony in the scene is reminiscent of Cyzicus: the identity of the man is not enhanced or defined by the tiger, but rather is hidden.

At the same time, the positioning of Myraces as 'master' rather than owner or wearer implies a certain responsibility to him on the part of the tiger. But, unlike in the case of horses, a 'betrayal' by a wild beast should not be surprising. The tiger's maw, the sign of its ferocity, instead of representing Myraces' prowess and victory, is the outlet through which the human's blood and life pass. If the tiger had been hunted by Myraces himself, this shedding of his blood through its mouth could figure its vengeance through its greatest weapon. For Armes, death involves the falling away of his desired, adopted identity. For Myraces, his assumption of the skin ends with the animal enveloping him. Its own (re-enacted) death eclipses his, and the tiger-skin almost acts as an ally of Syenes. The tiger not only allows the passage of the spear, but also shows in a spectacular and even bizarre way the reality of Myraces' death, while blocking him from the view of especially the readers, if not also those present on the field. The narrator practically revives the tiger as an agent through the verb *effundit*. Unlike for Cybele's lion, this tiger's story has been generalised into the experience of all tigers, a fierce and powerful animal used to communicate 'easternness' and prowess. Like the reassertion of the personality of the dead Pallas through Aeneas' declaration at the moment he kills Turnus (*Aen*. 12.948-9), in the moment of Myraces' death, the dead animal's individuality emerges through an illusion of agency, a reminder that the tiger's experience was unique to itself, before it was killed and made to represent generic features by and to humans.

For all three men, their respective failed appropriations of animal skins for different

[366]Spaltenstein (2005) 201.
[367]Cf. the use of *eriles* in the chariot disaster at 6.413, to describe the dismembered limbs of the drivers.

purposes feature prominently in their demises, and the way in which the skins feature signal different reasons for their failure. Cyzicus' mistake is a tragic one, and he is allowed to know before his death who has devised the battle with the Minyae as his punishment: *audit fremitus irasque leonum*, 'he hears the roars and rages of lions', 3.237b. The whole of VF's orchestration of Cybele's involvement in this episode suggests that it is not Cyzicus' hunting or even trophy-claiming that is the main affront, but rather that immoderation has led him to take the wrong booty and revel in it. That failure to recognize an animal's significance before attempts to use it for one's own purposes ruptures relationships. The appropriation of the lion as a symbol adds a second edge to the offence: the death of a sacred animal is accompanied by an attempt to assign it a new significance in place of that granted it by its rightful owner. The various meanings assigned to (and assumed inherent) in the lion are not universally recognized, and of course, even the same message is not received with the same attitude.[368]

In contrast, Armes' practices undertaken in his Pan-inspired goat-skin are profitable, but hardly heroic, and do not prepare him for battle. Before Armes dies, Aron points out to him the foolishness of expecting to be empowered by his disguise when meeting warriors, not herd animals or their keepers. The meaning of his appropriation is universally understood, but not universally accepted, as he presumes too much on the similarity of context in which he wears his skin and similarity of the audiences particular to those contexts. Aron's derision seems to be justified in his quick dispatch of Armes, whose animal covering immediately falls away to reveal the mortal beneath.[369] As a goat, he is killed easily like the flocks he preyed upon, rather than protected by his assumed association with the divine. Myraces' assumption of the tiger-pelt, along with his other accoutrements, communicates his origin as well as his prowess, but it is the visibility of the tiger itself, and its face, which dominates the imagery of death and creates confusion over who and what is bleeding and dying. The meaning intended here by the wearer is first not received as desired by the named human viewer (Syenes), and then is reclaimed or supplanted by the visually overwhelming animal presence.

The death of Myraces (and the tiger) is a fitting final image for the three episodes,

[368]There is also a general warning implicit in the incident, for passion can carry away anyone into excess and prevent reflection. For the motif of killing a special or sacred animal here and elsewhere in Roman epic, see Manuwald (2015) 70-1.
[369]Spaltenstein (2005) 159.

as the tiger's 'betrayal' suggests again a cyclical nature of violence amongst not only humans, but also between humans and animals. The assimilation of human and animal death in a battlefield points to the blood and violence behind the failure of human appropriation of animal attributes in each of these episodes, and to the pervasive but subtle Valerian indictment of martial violence in which even animals play a part. And of course, at the heart of the conflict in Colchis is an animal skin, the Golden Fleece itself. But even more pervasive in these failed appropriations of animals as objects is the problematic approach of humans (especially fighting men) to animals as they try to use them in messaging. The meanings assigned to them may be ambiguous, unpersuasive, or flimsy in the face of an assertion by the animal of its own reality or identity. And overall, VF is consistent in his use of undermining language and perspective of the human appropriation of animal bodies and the negotiation of human power over animals, perhaps the very origin of the problem of effective communication with them.

ii. Hercules & Jason: Heroic & Epic Repurposing of Animal Skins

As has already been suggested, not all instances in the *Arg.* of humans wearing animal skins involve a form of (apparent) retribution. VF's use of the animal skin motif varies depending on circumstance and on the individual humans and animals involved. References to and appearances of Hercules, for example, in the text frequently include mention of his trademark Nemean lion-skin, and often the lion-skin itself represents the hero. It should be noted that his usual weapons, the club and bow, which so often complete the portrayals of Hercules in literature and visual media, do not function as independent symbols in VF's text. This strengthens the position of the lion-skin as a prominent example of the animal-skin-as-symbol within the larger system of the motifs of animals on and as humans' objects.[370] Of course, given the history of Hercules' mythology and iconography over the centuries before VF, the audience(s), especially outside of the narrative, and instances of transmission of meaning through different media are much more numerous, and the basic significance of Hercules in his lion-skin (or killing the Nemean lion) more universally recognized than in the cases of the characters of the previous section. That is, the skin's function as symbol is much broader in both time and context, with a more complex intertextual history and meaning

[370]Weapons are significant in epic as personal objects which are very 'close' to or strongly associated with the owner, Grethlein (2008) 38-9, 41-2; Griffin (1980) 7-8; nevertheless VF chooses the lion-skin as the most independently meaningful of Hercules' effects.

much less anchored in the Argonautic context, not so dependent on immediate events or on the wearer's intent. It is thus also less likely to be misinterpreted. The result, however, is that VF adapts it to the *Arg*. through acribing to the skin multiple new meanings for his narrative and Hercules' varied audiences therein.

A brief description of the treatment of the killing of the Nemean lion is in order here. The Labour as described in earlier authors undergoes some development, as does the representation and appearance of Hercules himself.[371] But Theo. *Id.* 25 shows Hercules in a particular aspect of his threshold identity, on which more below. In this telling, he carries his club (the creation of which he also narrates) and his bow (206-10), but the lion by this stage in the story's development is also invulnerable to weapons thanks to its special, golden hide and thus must be defeated by other means. In the Idyll, after arrows glance off the lion's flank and chest (227-39), Hercules finally clubs the lion (breaking his club in so doing) and stuns it, giving him the opportunity to throttle it from behind (253b-71). Hercules wonders then how he will flay it, but one of the gods—ἀθανάτων τις—steps in and suggests using the lion's claws (276-9), thereby turning the animal's assets against itself.

The variants in the myth of the Labour allow for varying emphases on Hercules as civilizer through physical superiority (strangulation is a common last resort against the lion in visual art and in other texts), or through a combination of strength and reason, as he tries different approaches before finally stunning (or killing) and skinning the lion by applying the animal's strength in service of the hero. Hercules is on the boundary between the wild and civilization, between the individual and society, and between man and animal. He crosses over into the animalistic when he kills with his bare hands, his so-called 'brute strength.' But in Theocritus' version of Hercules' killing of the Nemean lion, a defeat of the lion through ingenuity, and the adoption of the product of the ingenuity as a symbol of that conquest, Hercules dressed in the skin represents the very fact of his ambiguous identity, astride the boundary between categories of human and even between species. He has not defeated the lion using human-made instruments. Rather, he instrumentalizes the animal's own body to kill it, and then re-purposes the same for his personal use. He uses the animal's strength to defeat the animal on its own level, subsequently using the animal's skin as symbolic signifier within visual interactions with humans.

In turn, VF uses the object-symbol of interspecies interactions in several

[371]Gantz (1993) 383.

communication exchanges within the visual network of Hercules and those around him. The author's various uses of the lion-skin render it more complex than solely a symbol of Hercules' victory, and serve to separate the Nemean lion itself from the animals mentioned above. No less than four times does the skin appear in prominent places in the text, and in each case it represents a different aspect of the hero's identity and cultural significance. The Nemean lion, or rather, the symbol of its defeat and death, demonstrates the 'meaning' potential of animal death—particularly the death of a special animal—and bodies in illustrating human character and concerns.

Early on in the epic, the skin both bridges the gap between one age of heroes and another, and reveals the type of Hercules' heroism. It appears even before the *Argo* departs, part of a programmatic moment: the infant Achilles studies it closely during the farewell banquet. Hercules has set the 'cloak' and thus the young hero can bring his face close to the remnant of the cat, *Herculeo fert comminus ora leoni*, 1.263, in an echo of and contrast to Astyanax' reaction to his father Hector in his helmet in *Il*. 6.466-74. The encounter between Astyanax and Hector is a template, characterized by the fear of a child who does not recognize his father in his warrior-heroic guise, and is only comforted when Hector removes his helmet. Unlike his Iliadic counterpart, Achilles is not frightened, and seems to recognize a significance to himself in the hero's object. Of course, Hercules is not Achilles' father, and the lion-skin is not hiding the hero's face, as Hector's helmet does. But Hercules nevertheless is companion to Peleus and serves as a model for the next generation of heroes, of which Achilles is a member. And, it appears that the skin, by itself, reveals rather than obscures.

Firstly, Achilles already shows both his interest in the exploits of heroes and his own fearlessness, prefiguring the later demonstration of his unique ability to gaze at the awesome and supernatural, as he does when first beholding the shield made for him by Hephaestus in *Il.* 19.14-7.[372] The skin thus provides a link between heroic ages and epics, demonstrating the position of Hercules as a model to later heroes alongside their fathers, like Peleus who embraces Achilles directly following the boy's encounter with the skin. Secondly, Achilles is a viewer of the skin in isolation, not upon the shoulders of the hero. Yet he is instinctively drawn to and fascinated by it, which suggests its inherent meaning in association with Hercules and his achievements (even when apart from his body), and Achilles' nature and heritage as well. Achilles' encounter with the skin and the metapoetic function served therein also adds to the biography of the object

[372] Zissos (2014) 374; Purves (2010) 53-5.

itself, a Valerian touch which once again strengthens the continuity between different points and people of myth-history and emphasizes the dialogue between his own and other epic texts.

The skin's next appearance defines the nature of that continuity and heroic modelling by underscoring Hercules' unique role in his own time and in his immediate context, for it is not the pelt of just another lion. When in Mysia, Hercules fells a huge tree and carries it to the shore on his back, which is shaggy with the hide of the tawny monster, not *leonis*, but *fulvi monstri*, 3.567. Hercules' show of great strength in the taking of the tree is combined with a reminder that the Nemean lion was one of his labours, in which the animals he faced were extraordinary, and their defeat essential to the safety of humanity. His relationship to nature is quite different to those of the men in the first section, and of course the Nemean lion represents a different aspect of 'nature' to that symbolised by even Cybele's lion. Hercules is a forerunner to civilization, taming the landscape for the next generation, and his killing of the beast and use of its skin is not treated with ambiguity.[373] In addition, this context allows Hercules' heroism additional nuance, with VF privileging the narratees with this note about the multi-functional nature of the lion-skin. For in this case, the narratees are the only viewers of the pelt as the tree is set upon it, and their interpretation once again is shaped by VF's word choice. Again, this word choice emphasizes Hercules' role as a monster-slayer and rescuer of both humans and natural animals upon which the Nemean lion preyed. But the readers are also shown the practical usefulness of the lion-skin as it serves to protect Hercules at work just as it would in battle.[374] Thus, while certain meanings are inextricably bound up in the lion-skin, as young Achilles seems to recognize, the skin gains significance through its use in other contexts, proving Hercules' value as an industrious member of the *Argo*'s crew as much as a beast-killing demigod. VF's readers are at present the only recipients of this imagery, but soon enough VF will illustrate the special significance of the skin to the Minyae.

Perhaps surprisingly, VF uses a reference to the skin to illustrate heroic friendship and the impact of fellowship broken. Only 150 lines after Hercules carries the tree on his back, on the pelt, the Minyae grieve the loss of Hercules. Jason hides his own tears, mindful of his role as leader, much like Aeneas.[375] Nevertheless several of the other

[373] Hershkowitz (1998b) 146-7. Kerényi (1959) 141: in Hercules' adoption of the lion-skin, 'that which had formerly threatened mortals with death became a promise of their deliverance.'
[374] His stated purpose for adopting it as a cloak, Theo. *Id*. 25.278-9.
[375] Hershkowitz (1998b) 119; Castelletti (2014) 179.

Argonauts are named in their acts of mourning, 3.715-25. The men note that Hercules' bench is empty, with no lion-skin to be seen: *nulla leonis exuvia*, 3.720b-21a. In the previous two instances, the lion-skin is visible and its meaning transmitted through the reaction of Achilles or proof of its practicality. Here, the skin is absent, and the fact that it is not seen is what gives it its immediate significance in this passage. Now that Hercules is gone, readers get a glimpse into the mind's eye of the Minyae through focalization of the imagination. In missing him and reflecting on how Hercules' absence affects them, they also reminisce about his various traits and trademark attributes. And now the skin, missing along with Hercules, signals loss and its emotional impact on those who now do not see what they wish were present. It is ironic that the skin of a monster should represent the reassuring presence of a friend, and be used to denote the affection of men for (one) another. The meaning bound up in the evidence of a threat subdued, and appropriated for the good, by its absence comes to represent a personal loss of comfort in the Argonauts' lament and inner thoughts. Furthermore, an object's meaning, especially the personal significance to viewers, not only changes with context and viewer, but also with whether or not it is viewed. In this case, the animal skin is imagined or remembered, and then attributed new meaning by VF via its absence.

The last reference to Hercules' lion-skin introduces Jason's use of an animal skin into the visual network. This is the simile which compares Jason taking up the Golden Fleece to Hercules departing the Nemean caves. Jason, on the move with Medea after putting the dragon to sleep and seizing the Fleece, lights up the landscape with the skin as he wraps and folds it about himself, resembling Hercules while doing so: *talis ab Inachiis Nemeae Tirynthius antris/ ibat, adhuc aptans umeris capitique leonem*, 'in the same way the Tirynthian was leaving the Inachian caves of Nemea, still fitting the lion(skin) to his shoulders and head', 8.125-6. The emphasis of the simile does not merely compare the heroes in their appearance. In taking the reader back to the moment when Hercules first dons the pelt of the Nemean lion, it highlights a threshold moment in his heroic career, when he adopts one of the key components of his iconography. This in turn defines Jason's possession of the Fleece, a heroic feat which he cannot stop to savour, and the flight from Colchis as a parallel threshold moment. Hercules in Nemea is on the move, presumably eager for his next task, even as he fits the lion's skin to his own shoulders. Jason and Medea must hurry to the *Argo,* but even in their hasty departure Jason's act of wearing the Fleece announces his triumph, objectively

demonstrated by the Fleece's brightness and highlighted by VF's evocation of a proactive and successful Hercules.[376] The lion-skin in turn comes to symbolise in VF what Hercules means to different people at different times: heroic model, co-labourer, friend, and paradigm.

For Jason, his wearing of the Fleece as a cloak evokes his woven cloaks in both AR and earlier in VF, and of course the story of Phrixus' rescue by the ram is part of AR's ekphrasis of the cloak given Jason by Athena (1.763-7). These cloaks will be discussed further in the section on animals in textiles below. Here, VF deliberately steers the readers' interpretation of Jason's adoption of the Fleece towards a type of Herculean act, redirecting the impression from AR's blushing maiden simile—on the occasion of his Jason donning the fleece—to the defeat of the Nemean lion. The appropriation here is nevertheless quite different. The Fleece had already been dedicated as a symbol by other humans, and functioned as such for the Colchians ever since. Phrixus' ram was killed as a sacrificial victim, and its pelt devoted as both a sacred and public object.[377] Jason's wearing of the Fleece alters its meaning, signifying a change in ownership, purpose, context, and viewers. It retains its power to connote publicly its own history and now the adventure of the Minyae, but it is no longer a shared object, belonging jointly to a god and a nation. Having now been acquired, the Fleece as prize is now adopted as a personal object by Jason, and his first immediate audience as Fleece-wearer is the landscape which reflects the brightness of his animal garment. The Fleece will later prove even more personal and privately significant when it lines Jason's and Medea's marriage couch in 8.258.

Jason's and Hercules' use of animal skins is a function of their status and roles within the epic. Unlike Cyzicus and the allies of Perses, Jason's taking of the Fleece and Hercules' lion-skin are required by the tradition. The violence behind the latter is an act of heroism in itself, and the lion-skin is a product of Hercules' fulfilment of his destiny. The same is true of Jason's wearing of the Fleece, and significantly, of course, Jason did not kill the ram. It remains to be discussed what promise of violence is inherent in the Fleece, but certainly it will not ensure a peaceful destiny for Jason. Still, for the moment, it represents the success of the quest. The re-purposing of the Fleece

[376] The image is especially striking for its contrast to AR's simile for Jason with the Fleece, comparing him to a blushing girl, 4.167-73. See Derametz (2014) 57, and Hershkowitz (1998b) 118-9 for further comparisons between and the complementarity of Jason and Hercules.

[377]The theme of a sacrifice of a ram is already connected to the Nemean Lion Labour in Hercules' agreement with his host Molorchus, who would sacrifice a ram thirty days after Hercules' departure to seek out the lion; the recipient of the ram would depend on whether Hercules returned victorious within those thirty days, Kerényi (1959) 141-2.

also represents in small the shift in both category and home of (political) power, from East to West, and from a primordial to Olympian-sanctioned order, with new personalities and purposes driving myth and history. Special or normal animal skins appropriated for the wrong use, unsuited to the human's context, or unmindful of the animal itself, end in failure and destruction. For the two main heroes, the signifying power of these special animals, Phrixus' ram and the Nemean lion, remains fluid after their deaths. Both animals' skins can be reappropriated, by Jason and even by VF himself, as they ascribe new or additional meanings to the objects. Their objects' symbolic function in visual communication by heroes can be adapted to different contexts, owners, and viewers, their significance enriched by the layering of meanings past and present. Finally, they also work as markers in the development of heroes' (similar or shared) identities and reputations, simultaneously reflecting the larger themes of the epic.

b. Minyae & Arms: Animals in ekphrases of Self-identification & -realization

Other heroes aboard the *Argo* use not animal parts but animal imagery on their arms or clothing, and all three men's personal objects feature ekphrastically in VF's catalogue of the Minye in Book 1. Ekphrases in general in epic catalogues are worthy of notice, because while catalogues are lists of described people and items, they are much more than that, presenting a rich treasury of intertextual possibilities, and functioning both programmatically and within the narrative. Catalogues are often opportunities taken or made by the author to highlight the presence, personal histories, and contributions of lesser warriors and heroes among characters of higher profile. The portraits offered of these characters, major and minor, may evoke pathos, offer insight into feature events, and explore epic motifs and themes either generic or particular to the immediate text.[378] Thus, while on the surface the momentary focus on obscure characters may seem random, the order, duration, detail, and of course person himself, of each entry in a catalogue are carefully selected, deliberately evocative of the author's consciously chosen models (even channelling those influences of which the author may not be conscious), and strategically placed. The choice too of whether to describe a characters' clothing, arms or weapons is also deliberate and significant. In the case of shield devices, of which two are found in VF's Book 1 catalogue, it is notable that such are not

[378]Gaertner (2001) 299-300, 303-4.

found in Homer's catalogues, but occur twice in Virgil.[379] In both, ekphrastically described animals are central to the heroes' self-identification.

This section focuses on the Minyae whose entries in the catalogue of Book 1 include ekphrases of personal objects featuring animals. How these animals are used varies: for two 'lesser' heroes, Phalerus and Canthus, the animals point backward or forward to heroes' origins, and to the past and future, acting as symbols of heroic experience as well as identity and indicators of the humans' perceptions of both the animals and themselves. While animal skins evoke interaction between animal and human in the past, artistic representations allow for the viewing of the imagined animals in action. The representations in which the animals feature also reveal VF's role for animals in imagining and evoking of visual experience through ekphrases in particular, and how the position and movement of animals in narrated visual media communicates uniquely in each instance, with varying poetic and programmatic effect. Because these objects are described through ekphrases and within a catalogue, it can be argued that the different angles and levels of participation of potential viewers of the objects make up a more explicit and complex visual network than the previous examples, with the object at the centre. Such a network more clearly invites the reader to look at and be affected by the image presented. The animals and their interactions with humans on the objects are not only components to be looked at and described, but are part of a description which requires imposition of a point of view in the act of description itself, and interpretation by the reader (and/or gazer).[380]

Of course, the Minyae are not the only warriors to display animals or mythical creatures on their clothing or arms (Itys, 3.189, and Colaxes, 6.57, come to mind in this regard), but it is the Minyae, namely Phalerus, Canthus, and Castor, whose animal art features complementary portrayals and messaging. Unlike in the case of Phalerus, the relationship between Canthus and Neptune's sea-wolves is not entirely clear: Canthus' shield art does not tell a story as such, and does not show the connection between its bearer and the animals. This makes it difficult to fit into a discussion about poratrayals of animal-human interactions, but the passage is analyzed and some interpretations offered in Appendix A.3. In the case of Castor, his animal imagery functions as a place-

[379]Courtney (1988) 5. One of these in Virgil, the shield of Turnus, read with its counterpart, Turnus' helmet (both of which feature animal or monster imagery, Io as a cow and the chimaera), is both significant in characterizing Turnus, and for interpretation of the whole of the epic, Gale (1997).
[380] The question of whether to try to integrate ekphrasis into narrative, the necessary inscription of point of view within ekphrases, which shapes the viewing and interpretation of the reader of the description, the matter of 'percipients', and their varying interpretations, among other issues in the approach to ekphrasis as discussed in Fowler (1991) 27, 28-9, 31.

holder for the 'real' thing, his horse Cyllarus, suspending the animal in art before it is effectively re-embodied on the plains of Colchis.

i. Phalerus: Past & Future

The extensive catalogue of the Minyae mentions animals on the arms and clothing of only two men—Phalerus and Canthus—besides the Dioscuri, whose cloaks are discussed in the following sections. The shared aspect of described shield devices make the two men's entries unique, and evoke Virgil's two catalogue shields, and by extension, the apparent models for those shields.[381] Both of those shields, featuring bestial imagery, mobilize arguments about and illustrations of the nature of the relationship between man and animal from Virgil's poetry and from Lucretius, which has already been significant for the reading of animals in VF.[382] Here, the animal references on their shields are part of another shared trait between Phalerus' and Canthus' catalogue entries, specifically marked evidence of narratorial omniscience, especially in the aspect of time. Like other stock passages from epic, the ekphrases of even minor characters' objects reveal rich intertextual relationships—including artistic intertexts of the animal—through which VF negotiates the position of *Arg*., its personnel and their identities, and their interactions with both the natural world and the world of myth. The art on Phalerus' arms, featuring a snake attacking a representation of him as a small boy, tells a story from his past which sets him apart from other heroes.

After describing Butes' reputation for his remarkable apiaries, VF details the autobiographical story told by Phalerus' arms:

> insequeris casusque tuos expressa, Phalere,
> arma geris laeva; nam lapsus ab arbore parvum
> ter quarter ardenti tergo circumventi anguis,
> stat procul intendens dubium pater anxius arcum.

> You follow and carry your arms, Phalerus, portraying
> your experiences; for a serpent dropping down from the hollow of a tree

[381]Courtney (1988) 5: these are Verg. *Aen*. 7.658, the shield of Aventinus showing Hercules killing the hydra, and 7.789-92, the shield of Turnus, featuring Io, Argus, and Inachus; their respective models are found in Aesch. *Sept*. 1135-7 (Adrastus), 1107-9 (Parthenopaeus/Atalanta killing the Calydonian boar); and possibly Eur. *Phoen.* 1114-8 (Hippomedon/Argus), and more strongly for Turnus' Chimaera helmet, Aesch. *Sept.* 493-6 (Hippomedon/Typhon).
[382]Gale (1997) esp. 177-9. See Ch. 2.b. above.

> with its burning hide enfolds you, [a] small [boy], thrice, four times; your 400
> worried father stands at a distance stretching his wavering bow. [1.398-401]

The *arma* function almost actively as storyteller through *expressa*, rather than a passive medium on which the imagery is engraved. VF directs the reader's gaze and perception, as is typical in ekphrastic description, through the ordering of detail and vocabulary. The setting, with the three-dimensional hollow of the tree, is put forth first, with the teasing direct object *parvum* at the end of the line before VF reveals the huge coiling snake in line 400. The animal itself is dynamic, with the participles of movement *lapsus* and *circumventi* complemented by an extra-visual sensory term, *ardenti*. In contrast, Phalerus' father in the last line is given a finite verb *stat* that emphasizes his hesitation and lack of movement, an idea repeated then in *intendens* and *anxius*, a word which suggests his physical and emotional tension are perceptible in the image just as the spatial distance is in *procul.* Finally, even his weapon, *arcum*, shares his anxiety.

AR relates neither this incident nor what Phalerus might have on his arms. But he does name Phalerus' father, Alcon, and the importance of his father's wish that his only son might 'shine brightly' amongst the other heroes on the expedition. In contrast, Aventinus' shield in *Aen*. 7.658 is a clear parallel if not model for Phalerus' shield, featuring his father Hercules' monstrous snaky opponent, the hydra. The representation of the beast however differs considerably. The hydra is preceded by the references to Hercules (*Hercule* and *insigne paternum,* 656, 657), and the interlocked terms—with no verb or participle—describing the monster's heads and coils are interrupted by the relatively bland verb *gerit*, which emphasizes the image's lifelessness. Virgil's description of the shield is also comparatively brief, for the narrator then details in narration rather than ekphrastic description the raising of Aventinus by Rhea and Aventinus' wearing of a lion-skin to battle (7.659-69). VF takes a different tack, telling a type of origin story without dropping the perspective of ekphrasis. Especially important, the size and power of the snake dominate his scene, and take up more than a full line, separating the humans from one another in the flanking lines, parallel to the physical reality represented in the picture.

Asserting the fame of both father and deed, VF does not name Alcon here, while Hercules is named twice in the Aventinus passage. Instead, the narrator directs the reader to Phalerus' choice of expression of identity, showing one of Alcon's exploits.

Phalerus is the hero on the *Argo*, but his shield tells the story of both his past endangerment and his father's saving act, which is evidently the stuff of song, if this is the same Alcon whom Menalcas mentions in *Ecl*. 5.11.[383] It also indicates Phalerus' heroic pedigree on the personal level, both through an unusual childhood experience and the courage of his father who presumably killed the attacking animal. It is interesting that Phalerus' art does not show the end of the story, the dead body of the serpent. Instead, the image focuses on the moment of crisis in which the living animal has the advantage and leaves the viewer to infer or recall the outcome. The effect of this is to emphasize the surprise of the ambush and the power of the serpent, and the momentary uncertainty of the human. This then has the consequent effect of defining the father's act and giving the child survivor special status. Phalerus will be named twice more in the text, once paralysed by fear as the *Argo* approaches the Symplegades (4.654), and then as the killer of the raging Medores in the civil war (6.217).

At the narrative level, the image of a giant serpent links Phalerus' past to the Argonautic enterprise through Jason's future encounter with the Fleece-guarding dragon. At the same time, the intertextual link forward (in myth time) to Aventinus' adopted symbol further associates Jason and Hercules, as Hercules' evoked Labour on the shield features the serpentine monster. And of course, Hercules in *Arg.* will defeat another serpentine antagonist, the *ketos* in Book 2. Like Hercules' lion-skin, the serpent threatening Phalerus illustrates a web of connections and relationships between heroes and their adventures across generations and space. The animal interaction with the human here, while part of the descriptive pause of the catalogue, not only freezes the moment of immediate threat from the (especially reptilian) animal other, foreshadowing more major characters' confrontations—thereby raising the profile of the 'lesser' Phalerus—but also asserts the position of the Argonauts and their story relative to the heroes and their pasts of other texts.

In contrast to the wearers of animal skins in the previous sections, Phalerus represents a group of men (like Canthus and Aventinus) who do not wear animal body parts but rather display personal objects featuring artistic representations of animals. These particular animals or their species and context communicate important aspects of the humans' identities and those of their families or homelands. In addition, the images of the animals also link the symbolic meaning with events which shape or define the men's respective character or roles, much like the lion-skin and Fleece do for Hercules

[383] Zissos (2008) 268.

and Jason. By using carefully chosen and crafted portrayals of the animals in specific contexts and moments, the warriors (and at a higher level of narration, VF) can both communicate abstract facets of their heroism and tell stories, invoking personal history or future in the present. Unlike in the cases of animal skins, Phalerus' shield is not a product but rather a representation of human-animal violence or the threat of human-human violence. Also, the success/failure factor in the communication potential of appropriation of animals for symbol here is much more nuanced than in especially the first three instances of skin-wearing.[384] Furthermore, the import of emblems on personal objects allows for very overt and specific intertextual dialogue, with meaning specially communicated through the choice of species, its appearance, and its behaviour, through the layering of influences and parallels. In this ekphrasis, the animal itself is at the centre of interpretation of the immediate catalogue entry, and in the reading of the negotiation between VF and his predecessors.

ii. Castor: Projecting Cyllarus

Phalerus' imagery may not itself overtly depict events to come, but Castor's self-representation in visual media does have a descriptive and subtly predictive quality. The most detailed ekphrasis in the Book 1 catalogue illustrates the hero's self-representation via an image of his special animal, his horse Cyllarus, in the horse's absence. At the same time, the image looks forward to a future 'incarnation' of that animal with Castor in the narrative action, a scene again informed by Homer and Virgil.

There is an extensive traditional background in epic for VF's horses, animals which more than any other are part-and-parcel of a hero's poetic description and identity, denoting wealth and position from Homer onwards.[385] Horses as beautiful status symbols could be displayed in various contexts, on the street, in ritual processions, in war and in games. They are also valuable as gifts or payment to heroes, along with their trappings.[386] Heroes with reputations as accomplished horsemen are often ascribed corresponding epithets and carry or wear objects decorated with images of their

---

[384] See Appendix A.3. for more discussion of this.

[385] Finkelberg (2011): 'In Homer's world [horses] signify the form of aristocratic heroism that the *Odyssey* calls into question', and are useful as symbols for the relationship and/or boundary between humans and nature, and mythic and historical identities of peoples and individuals; as 'commodities of EXCHANGE between mortals, and between mortals and gods'; as figures for allusion and foreshadowing, etc., 370-1. See also Howe (2014) 140-1; Bell & Wilkes (2014) 478.

[386] In VF alone, horses are mentioned as a price or prize three times: 2.487-8, 2.566; 4.230; 6.560. In the *Aen.* the fact that the horses' trappings are included as part of the prize or gift is explicitly mentioned at 5.310, 7.274-85 and 8.552-3 (this horse from Evander is dressed in a gilded-clawed lion-skin).

horses.[387] Castor and Pollux, not surprising given their reputation, wear cloaks embroidered by their mother Leda, which feature the twins on their snow-white horses (animals and humans here appear in the same line), with the image of another key to their identity not far away—Jupiter as a swan (1.431-2): *quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat/ et volat amborum patrius de pectore cycnus,* 'his own charger made from snowy thread carried each and the paternal swan flies from the breast of both'. The role of mothers in the genealogy and self-identification of heroes on the field or in catalogues, and as makers of heroes' clothing, especially for martial use, will be discussed in the next section.

Horses, like those which Leda has woven, serve a decorative function in heroes' self-display, evidenced not only in the material used for their harnesses and tack—frequently gold and purple fabric—but even in the horses' often distinctive colours.[388] Twinned white horses are attributed to Castor and Pollux not only in VF, but also in Ovid, and a parallel pair of brothers drive a white team in Virgil.[389] Horses are chosen for appearance as well as abilities, and ought to be striking so as to set them and their heroes apart from others. The aesthetic value of horses, and what they communicate about the value of their owners, is proven and used repeatedly in the *Aeneid*, at times demonstrating the ubiquity of prize horses in the tradition and likely influencing VF's equine aesthetic. Turnus' dappled mount, for example, counterpart to his armour in 9.49-50, is apparently very striking indeed, as he has caught the eye of Ascanius, who promises him and Turnus' equipment to Nisus as a reward for his participation in the night raid (9.269-71). This is not the only equine dimension to this episode; in the coming raid, there is a strange twist on the *Iliad* 10 template.

To begin with, the horses of Rhesus are faintly echoed in the sleeping horses of Remus in *Aen*. 9.331, but unlike Odysseus and Diomedes, the Trojan raiders are not interested in stealing them. Rather, they behead them in their sleep, like the humans, with their necks now familiarly *pendentia*. This omission to take animals of such value while they stand vulnerable, indeed to 'waste' them, is a further demonstration of the excessive zeal of the raiders discussed in Chapter 2.a. Nevertheless, Nisus and Dolon

[387] Most famously, Hector, 'breaker of horses'. Virgil uses *domitor equorum* of Picus at 7.189 (which Ovid alters to *studiosus equorum* in *Met.* 14.321) and Lausus at 7.651, and uses the same epithet of Messapus three times (*Aen.* 7.691,9.523,12.128), all accompanied by the phrase *proles Neptunia*. The epithet, like a patronymic, is a form of identification as well as description.
[388] The beautiful Astyr is splendid with his horse and *versicolouribus armis*, *Aen*.10.181. The impact of arms and costume is extended to the horses themselves in VF 6.231-8.
[389] Ov. *Met*. 8.472-4; Verg. *Aen.* 10.575-7. The whole horse need not be white—Achilles' horses are specifically white-maned at Ov. *Met.* 12.77.

have this in common, that they want an enemy chief's horses as the reward for their nocturnal efforts. Indeed, the connection between their raid and the Iliadic adventure is confirmed in the recapitulation of the Doloneia at *Aen.* 12.346-61.[390] Dolon's failure was highlighted in such a way as to suggest that his ambition was disproportionate to his ability. Nisus, like Dolon, does not claim the enemy's horses, nor the prize of Turnus' dapple, but the appeal of enemy horses is common in epic. Turnus in Book 12 is aligned with Diomedes, renowned for his horsemanship, as he spears Dolon's son Eumedes from his chariot, the possession and handling of the chariot and horses again emphasising the victor's prowess. With Castor, VF thus weaves in a horse-theft that follows the well-worn path of tradition, and also gives the hero an opportunity to distinguish himself, another departure from AR. While both sons of Tyndareus were famous for their riding skills, Ovid distinguishes between their respective talents at *Met*. 8.301-2: *Tyndaridae gemini, spectatus caestibus alter,/ alter equo, '*The Tyndarean twins, one proven with the boxing gloves, the other with the horse'. VF looks forward to the brothers' eventual catasterism and translation into deities associated with the sea, evident in Jupiter's apostrophe to them in 1.561-73. Nevertheless, within the frame of the quest of the *Argo,* he develops the characterization of the twins, and Castor especially, by highlighting both their traditional equine iconography and distinct personal interests.

First, VF mentions in the catalogue of Book 1 that to seek the Fleece, Castor has reluctantly left his magnificent horse Cyllarus to graze in Amyclae (1.425-6): *vectorem pavidae Castor dum quaereret Helles,/ passus Amyclaea pinguiscere Cyllaron herba,* 'until Castor should obtain the bearer of frightened Helle, he allowed Cyllarus to graze upon the grass of Amyclae'. This is an overt contradiction of Virgil's attribution of Cyllarus' training to Pollux (*Geo*. 3.89-90), while VF's choice of *vector* for (the origin) of the Fleece suggests not the object, but the ram as a special mount which bore Helle and Phrixus across the sea (1.282). The repeated term creates a parallel in experience between Castor and Helle, though Cyllarus cannot join his human on the journey, and Helle fell into the sea; both young people nevertheless would eventually be granted apotheosis. Second, on another level the beauty of the cloak with its imagined Cyllarus is linked to the Fleece itself as object by virtue of the golden thread Leda has used for Eurotas, 430. The connections to broader themes in the epic is not the only aspect in

[390]Athena warns Diomedes against excess at Hom. *Il*. 10.503ff. Ulysses sets himself up in contrast to Dolon in Ov. *Met.* 13.249-54; cf. Eumedes at *Aen*. 12.352. Turnus' strike against Eumedes (353-8) parallels Diomedes' cut through the neck of Dolon, Hom. *Il*. 10.455b-6.

which Castor's (and Pollux') garments differ from the arms discussed above. The ekphrasis of Phalerus' shield provokes imagining of the real animals pictured. For Castor, the narrator instead points both to Leda's art—Castor's cloak—and to the real thing, Cyllarus left to idle in the pasture. The horse then is not only part of how Castor represents himself in his various aspects as hero, son of Jupiter, horseman, etc., but is also shown to be tangible, still existing if inactive outside the narrative. Castor's reluctance (implied in *passus*) to leave Cyllarus behind renders the image on his cloak both a device for identification, and a sort of stand-in for Castor of his emblem and companion. This substitution of image for animal will later be reversed: Castor's hesitation about abandoning his horse actually points forward to his aristeia in Book 6, a Valerian innovation and companion piece to Pollux' defeat of Amycus.

Castor's aristeia takes place in a battle context where his identity as an Argonaut may preclude his success on horseback. The martial skill of the Minyae, specifically horsemanship, is set up against that of their enemies through the note of the Moesians' horse-changing practices (6.161-2a) and especially the warrior Gesander's vaunting. His representation of himself and his people, allies of Perses, contrasts the earthy skill of riding with the rowing and sailing of ships (6.326-29a). Gesander's dichotomy indicates a battle between not just peoples but also periods and technologies. Castor has already undermined this asserted incompatibility by his success on Gela's horse, elaborated on below, while Gesander's boasting is met with the courage of the Minyae, led by Telamon in defending Canthus' corpse in some of VF's most Iliadic language and imagery (6.342b-370a). Gesander himself is handily felled by Menippe—an Amazon whose own horse is stumbling in the moment—with an axe (6.377-80a). Finally, the end of the battle sequence proper, before the reintroduction of Medea, features the failure of horsemanship combined with advanced, non-maritime technology in the chariot disaster affecting more of Perses' allies (6.386ff.).[391] But it is Castor's appropriation of a 'new Cyllarus' that fixes his dual identity as Argonaut and the horse-taming half of the Dioscuri.

The twin's moment in the limelight begins with *viderat*—and his action follows his gaze.[392] Castor, fighting on foot on the Colchian plain, is taken more and more with the whiteness—*candore notato*—of the horses of the enemy Hyrcanians and burns with

[391]See 3.b.ii. above.
[392] Castor's aristeia runs from 6.203-55, after which Oncheus and his horse die, and the focus shifts to *parte alia,* 6.265. Both the beginning and end are punctuated by the sight of horses.

desire for them (6.205-6).[393] He seems to select one based on opportunity, meeting with the warrior Gela first. Castor's movement is as swift as the *alipedem* mount: *simul obvius hastam/pectus in adversum Gelae iacit alipedemque/insilit excusso victor duce*, 'at the same time, meeting with Gela, he hurls his spear straight into his chest and, its leader thrown down, the victor leaps upon the wing-footed horse', 208-9. Castor practically takes Gela's place in the saddle before Gela hits the ground, a *victor* in exchange for a *dux.* The horse's colour recalls Cyllarus and the representation of him on Castor's cloak. Castor is in fact taking his rightful place, his capture of the horse an answer to Pollux' victory in Book 4, and only in VF's Colchian war can room be made for demonstration of his skills. It is such a demonstration, a transformation from *pedes* to *eques*, that makes him identifiable to Jupiter: *pater prensisque equitem cognovit habenis, '*and his father recognized the horseman by (the way) the reins (were) held'.[394] Castor's father then laughs, pleased by his feat from a distance (6.209b-210).

Castor enters the battle afresh, *iamque novus*, and wreaks havoc from the back of a horse that serves him more than adequately, its lightness giving Castor an advantage over the Sarmatians and setting him apart even from his allies, the Colchians (6.228-42). In spite of Medores' disappointment, the horse is present to showcase Castor as *eques.* The realization of his previously imagined and asserted skill in horsemanship is seen in 6.225-7, where the uselessness of his enemy Tages' clothes, made by his mother and sister, is emphasized (see below the discussion of maternal presence in battle via gifted clothing). The embroidered Castor and white horse on the cloak described in 1.431 have come to life, a reality of legendary skill and prowess against which Tages' impressive garments and familial origin cannot stand. The newly-forged partnership of Castor and his horse is more than just appearance. Gela's horse takes Cyllarus' place as Castor's companion in action and representation of his achievements, and the nod to the potential power of imagery in the detail of Tages' clothing indicates that this new horse embodies the images of Castor's self-representation. The image of Cyllarus in Castor's cloak represents not only the hero's previously attained skills with his own horse, but also his yet-to-be realized ambitions and proving of himself, the establishing of that asserted identity confirmed in Jupiter's gesture of recognition and approval. Castor's realization of his ambition and identity takes place in action on yet a living substitute—a horse 'twin' or re-embodiment—for the woven horse, already a substitute for the real

[393] The horses are like the white steeds of the brothers in Verg. *Aen.* 10.575ff., and the notes of their origin and raising is reminiscent of the gift from Latinus in *Aen.* 7.280-3.
[394]The change in 'position', determined by mode of movement, is noted by Wijsman (2000) 97, 99.

Cyllarus.

c. Women & Imagination: Divine Association & Iconographic Appropriation

Of course, Castor did not make his cloak—his mother did. The role of women as artists and image-makers of animals is invoked several times in the *Arg*., and with a very different focus from that of the men's objects looked at so far. Firstly, the imagining of animals by women in VF tends to be more abstract than that of men, and is showcased visually (via ekphrases) on two cloaks, and verbally through Medea's voiced reflections on animal associations. Furthermore, women in VF, namely, Leda and Hypsipyle, explicitly create the objects which feature the animals important to them (the artists of the arms of Phalerus and Canthus are not named). While the animal images they choose to create do not, like men's objects, directly represent origins, 'exploits' or achievements as such, the animals clearly assert the women's claims about their status, and the status of their respective—typically divine—associations. Investigation of women's use of animal images, particularly with divine significance, will require thorough defining of the animals' roles, 'reality', and use in epic (art) generally. Furthermore, the treatment of violent subjects differs in important ways from the male appropriations. Hercules is the only male character credited with 'creating' his animal garment, but his adoption of the lion-skin, like the pelts of the other men and even arms of Phalerus and Canthus, is associated with or dependent on violence. Even Castor's enactment of the imagery on his cloak requires violence and death, and subjugation of an 'enemy' animal.

Women's creative (epic) medium relevant here, textiles, are created through weaving, a domestic activity in which violence is not directly implied or implicated. As early as Penelope's deceit with the shroud in the *Odyssey*, however, weaving can represent women's self-empowerment, a means of exerting some control within a context in which men like the suitors appear to have the upper hand. In martial contexts, the act of women's art in weaving is evoked often in the moment of their male family members' deaths, wherein their pierced garments made by their female relatives, mostly mothers, evoke pathos and grant the dead a biographical depth. Women's efforts in this case might be more strongly linked to victimization of themselves as well as to humanization of the victim. Finally, in spite of the differences between their work and especially the killing and skinning of animals in some male acts of appropriation, it must be asked whether women's (self-)representations and imaging featuring animals

ignore or eschew violence, or co-opt violent narratives. If they do, the violence of the animal association may be treated differently from or to other ends than is the case in men's animal skins or arms.

i. Leda & Hypsipyle: Woven 'Animals'

The tradition of the ekphrases of cloaks is influenced by the ekphrastic tradition around arms, and of course decorated garments appear a few times in Homer, and once in Hesiod. They do not receive sustained ekphrastic description, but in several cases, the poet does reveal the content of the embroidery.[395] In the case of Helen's scarlet/purple δίπλαξ in *Il.* 3.125, Helen acts as a counterpart to the Iliadic poet, weaving her own version of the same story. Cloaks in VF are the heirs to Helen's δίπλαξ πορφυρέη which appears repeatedly in Homer and in AR, and is reworked in Virgil's ekphrasis of the cloak featuring Ganymede (*Aen.* 5.249-7).[396] AR's extended ekphrasis (the only 'full-scale' example in his epic) of the cloak of Jason, made by Athena, and Virgil's Ganymede cloak will feature more fully the next section. For now, it is significant that, as Putnam has observed, Virgil transfers both the crucial physical features of the fabric denoted in the Greek term—the doubleness (in folding or thickness) and colour—to the ekphrasis itself. This transfer of features, as we shall see, is picked up by VF in the cloaks of the Dioscuri.

Leda's work was mentioned briefly in the section devoted to Castor. She does not merely provide a means of self-identification for her sons. In fact, the ekphrasis is punctuated with a declaration of their heritage that necessarily evokes Leda herself, though she does not appear on the cloak. As previously hinted at, in addition to their usual roles as spectators of epic warfare (particularly through teichoscopeiai), women are granted a sort of presence in the heroic action of epic, in catalogues and even on the battlefield, through warriors' autobiographical declarations to their opponents and peers, and in description of items made for them by their female relatives.[397] One prominent case where such invocation of the efforts and love of a dying warrior's mother is used to characterize multiple heroes and the impact of death is in the detail of the corselet of Lausus at *Aen*. 10.818. This corselet, like Castor's cloak, is interwoven with gold, *auro*, a word that also links the cloak as a garment of the warrior with the shield of Canthus

[395]Shapiro (1980) 266-7 details the various references to these textiles and their decoration.
[396]Putnam (1995) 427, 426.
[397]See Gaertner (2001) 301 n.17 on the role of women in heroes' self-identification/obituaries/catalogues; the importance of women in epic genealogies including in the genetic transmission of martial valour, and the presence/significance of mothers invoked on the battlefield.

(*aurea*). Elsewhere in VF, as seen in the discussion of Castor's aristeia above, Castor's victim Tages is granted a counterpart obituary that mentions his clothing, made jointly by both his mother and sister (*Arg*. 6.225-7).[398] Leda's gift to her son does not function here as part of an obituary, however, and its immediate and thematic messaging seems to have little to do with evoking pathos and much more to do with self-identification and communication of genealogy.

In his catalogue of Minyae, AR limits his description of Castor and Pollux to a mere five lines, 1.146-50, though it is worth noting that their horsemanship is mentioned (147), and that their mother sent them (146), eager that they prove their mettle (149b-50). That the Valerian spotlight shines longer on the twins is perhaps no surprise, given the astrological and katasteristic predictions which are woven into Jupiter's *Weltenplan*, demonstrated in his exhortations to all of his sons at *Arg*. 1.561-7. But while a few other heroes are described in up to 4 lines apiece, including notes of their appearance, 13 lines are dedicated to the description of the Dioscuri together. This includes a particularly detailed ekphrasis of their matching cloaks (other of their accessories are unique to each):[399]

> illis Taenario pariter tremit ignea fuco
> purpura, quod gemina mater spectabile tela
> duxit opus: bis Taygeton silvasque comantes
> struxerat, Eurotan molli bis fuderat auro.
> quemque suus sonipes niveo de stamine portat
> et volat amborum patrius de pectore cycnus.
>
> Upon them [each] likewise ripples [a] purple [cloaks], gleaming with Taenarian dye, which marvellous work their mother spun on
> twin warp(s); twice she created Taygetus and its leafy
> forests, twice she poured forth Eurotas in soft gold;
> His own charger [made] from snowy thread carries each,
> and the fatherly swan flies from the breast of both. [1.427-32]

[398]Garments woven with gold thread are also linked with death in the shroud of Pallas, Verg. *Aen*. 11.72-5. They further connote loss and destruction because they were made and given to Aeneas by Dido.
[399]Mopsus, garments, helmet and fillet, 1.382-6; Phalerus, death-predicting images on *arma*, 1.398-401; Eribotes, foreboding decoration on *arma*, 1.402. Erginus receives 5.5 lines total (414b-19), though this focuses not on his appearance, but rather on his lineage as son of Neptune, and his skilfulness at reading the sea, stars, and weather; it is perhaps a means of setting up his succession to Tiphys as helmsman in 5.65-6.

VF opens the ekphrasis with traditional features, the first being the typical luminous quality of such garments (*ignea*), but he does not attempt to match or outdo precedents. Jason's cloak in AR, for example, shines brighter than the sun (1.725-6), whereas a chiton in *Od.* 19.232-4 merely shone like the sun.[400] VF offers neither hyperbole nor terms of comparison. He also transfers the colour *purpura* back to the fabric, undoing Virgil's earlier change (the only real interaction with Virgil's cloak ekphrasis in this passage), but then elaborates on the nature of the colour by offering a detail of its Laconian origin in *Taenario fuco*. VF also empowers the cloak itself to add to the movement of the images, not yet described, through *tremit*. The rippling fabric promises the illusion of reality in the ekphrasis proper. Perhaps most importantly, VF has made the doubling effect literal: Leda has made two matching cloaks, and she wove them together on matching looms, *gemina tela*. Her concern for perfect duplication is demonstrated in her (presumably) working through the various stages of weaving and embroidery on the cloaks simultaneously, instead of completing one cloak before making the other. Rather than one cloak of double-thickness or to be folded double, or a double-border, Leda has doubled both her work and the artistic result with perfect twin garments. Again, the landscape details not only proclaim her sons' origins, but through the action and colour of the river (*fuderat, auro*) and the texture of the dry ground (*silvas comantes*) her sons' enterprise and rank to the other warriors are linked.[401]

Certain details Leda has chosen to include are traditional associations with her sons, such as Taygetus and their white horses.[402] The rippling of the cloak no doubt causes the horses and their riders to move like the river, though the verb *portat* is not particularly energetic. In contrast, the final line begins with *et volat*, heralding a departure from the grounded imagery so far described. And spatially, the narrator (and Leda) creates this separation with *de pectore*—for presumably all that has been seen previously is on the backs of the cloaks—before he reveals who or what is flying. With all the details of landscape, colour, and iconography, the passage ends with a concise but clear claim in one word: *cycnus*. Jupiter's animal disguises in the cases of his many loves is a well-worn theme by VF's time, with, for example, the rape of Europa by Zeus-as-bull commemorated in Mopsus' Hellenistic epyllion. And of course, animal transformation

[400]Shapiro (1980) 274.
[401]These terms coordinate with aspects of the ekphrasis of Canthus' shield at 1.454 (*fugiens, harenas*).
[402] Taygetus is referenced as the twins' place of conception and/or birth in both *Homeric Hymns* to the Dioscuri (17 and 23); both are horse tamers in AR, while Homer (*Il.* 3.237.) and Ovid (*Met.* 8.298-9) emphasize the separate skills of boxing—Pollux—and horsemanship—Castor.

in Jupiter's trysts is not limited to Jupiter himself; the other side of the Europa coin is the story of Io (important as already noted for the characterization of Turnus), whom VF references repeatedly and parallels to Hercules. Io might also be paralleled to Leda as yet another Jovian conquest, and another interaction between human and god-in-animal-disguise, since Io's wanderings as told by Calvus are implicitly invoked as a counterpart to Pasiphae by Virgil in *Ecl*. 6.52. There, the shared themes are crossed interspecies boundaries as well as destructive passion.[403] Thus, a reference to Jupiter's fatherhood of the Dioscuri by impregnating Leda in the form of a swan is hardly remarkable, yet Leda eschews the commonly noted destructive aspect of divine visitation. Furthermore, how VF structures the reference, via nods to other epic cloaks, and isolates the swan, merits exploration.

Mention of the 'swan' in extant literature is limited to a couple of places in Euripides. These two passages emphasize Jupiter's fatherhood, through his swan guise, of *Helen* rather than of her brothers. Furthermore, both passages seem to indicate that the swan conception is a regrettable thing.[404] Leda and even the swan nevertheless had been linked to or represented in weaving in Roman epic before VF: Aeneas offers a cloak of Helen, given to her and probably woven by Leda (*matris Ledae mirabile donum)*, among his gifts to Dido in *Aen.* 1.652.[405] While the cloak is apparently marvellous to look at, no details are given of what is thereon represented. Ovid in turn more than once focuses at great length on women's imagination and artistry in weaving, and Leda appears in the story of Arachne. In contrast to Helen's cloak mentioned by Virgil, however, Arachne perhaps includes too much detail, and she also responds to Minerva's representation of divine themes and activities (like metamorphoses), turning them to her own purposes.[406] Arachne's depiction, in her pictorial litany of gods in disguise, chasing goddesses, nymphs, and mortals, needs only six words from the narrator to describe the deceitful seduction of the mother of the Dioscuri: *fecit olorinis Ledam recubare sub alis,* 'Arachne made Leda lie beneath the wings of the swan', *Met*. 6.109. And it is one among the many, often very short, stories in a long, compounded series of instances of victimization which creates a rapid-fire effect; out of this Leda and

[403]Thomas (1979) 338-9; see references to Jupiter in animal form in the index.
[404]In the first, a Phrygian curses the fate Helen has brought upon Troy, calling her ὀρνιθόγονον and κυκνόπτερος (Eur. *Or.* 1385,1386), while in the second, Helen, bewailing her own suffering, tells the story of her origin, apparently unimpressed with her father's ingenuity, calling the act δόλιος εὐνή.
[405]As is fitting for a description of fine clothing, there are several colour terms: *pallam signis auroque rigentem,/ et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho...*1.648-9.
[406]Oliensis (2004) 286-7, 290-1.

the swan are read by Minerva at least as one shot of shocking scandal.[407]

In spite of the curt description by the poet, Arachne's portrayals are apparently detailed and vivid: *Omnibus his faciemque suam faciemque locorum/ reddidit*, 'to all of these she restored both their own appearance(s) and the appearance of the places,' 6.121-2a. In the end, it is Arachne's skill that so provokes Minerva (129-30). Still, her frank representation of the gods' exploits, which the goddess tears apart in her envy, are called *caelestia crimina* (6.131). In this reading, Arachne may be one of several human figures throughout the *Metamorphoses* (especially books 3-6) to enact some sort of rebellion against the newly-established Olympian power-structures. Through her art she either subverts the assertion and expansion of the power of the gods in the telling of that power (its becoming 'myth', by telling the stories that embarrass rather than glorify them) or frankly proclaims her own will to power through art that Minerva reserves for herself and the gods, but veils in her own work.[408] In either case, invocation of Arachne's weaving in VF, in which Jovian decree is so explicitly articulated, would tend to undermine claims of stability and harmony. And Leda, of course, no matter the reading of Arachne's tapestry, would not suit the role of the empowered aggressor in a play for artistic, let alone cosmic-narrative, control.

Like Arachne, Virgil's Leda is a fine weaver, but the reader is not permitted to see whether she has decorated the cloak given to Helen. VF's Leda, on the one hand, has woven beautiful matching cloaks for her sons which proclaim their identity through embroidered images. On the other, VF seems to have overturned the embarrassment associated with Jupiter's cygnomorphic affair. Moreover, in contrast to the anti-establishment Arachne, Leda squarely sets her past and its products, her sons, within the context of Jovian power, and by extension, within Jupiter's cosmic programme. Leda herself has represented her sons' father in his avian form, alone on the front of the cloak, as a marker of status and even as a point of pride. Her skill is evident in the lifelike movement of the swan on the fabric, *volat*.[409] While the horses carry the figures of the twins themselves, interacting with the humans, the solo *patrius* swan in flight suffices to

---

[407]The choice of the verb *fecit* in this line and that preceding, with the verbs *teneri* and *recubare,* emphasize the women's vulnerability to Jupiter in his disguises—though ironically *fecit* perhaps also demonstrates their subjection to Arachne's own agency as an artist who uses their figures for her purposes.

[408]Rosati (2001) 47, 54-5; Oliensis (2004) 294-6. It is also possible that the negative reading of Arachne's portrayals is entirely Minerva's interpretation, with the intent of Arachne herself indiscernible in the text; my thanks to Mairéad McAuley for her input on this point.

[409]See Spaltenstein (2002) 187 on the effect of the swan's movement, and on the interpretation and translation of *de pectore*.

communicate the twins' heritage. While the absence of Leda visually removes the symbol of Jupiter from the act of seduction itself, the choice of the swan over any other more neutral or universal representation of Jupiter concisely communicates her unique relationship with him: that was the form he specifically chose to pursue her and not anyone else.

The other mythical and religious associations with swans likely do not play a role in the myth of Leda and the swan. The swan's singing, for example, does not feature in any literary references to their meeting.[410] Instead, per Helen's claim in Euripides, the 'swan' approached Leda ostensibly for protection: Jupiter achieved his purpose by ὑπ' αἰετοῦ /δίωγμα φεύγων, Eur. *Hel*. 20-1. Thus, it appears Jupiter chose the swan as an animal vulnerable to attack, as often seen in augury, to none other than his own *armiger* the eagle, which he used to help create his predator-victim scenario and apparently win Leda's sympathy.[411] The cloaks of the Dioscuri in VF do not reveal any resentment on the part of Leda that she was deceived in this way. The very symbol of Jupiter's deception she instead chooses as the animal counterpart to her boys' horses as heralds of their identity, and indeed as an argument for her own exceptional position as mother of such heroes and one-time consort of Jupiter. By choosing animal imagery, she asserts that the swan form is a symbol of her privilege rather than her shame, just as she establishes the divine identity of her sons.[412]

On a programmatic level, Leda compels a shift in connotation of the swan-conception for the mythic future. Helen and mention of her origins so often evokes the Fall of Troy, which VF, especially relative to his many proleptic allusions to the disaster awaiting Jason and Medea, keeps at a discreet distance. This, combined with the pride she takes in being the one-time consort of Jupiter, renders the message of the animal symbol both one of personal (perhaps surprisingly) satisfaction and identification, and mutually beneficial cosmo-political relations, where the mother of the Dioscuri shows an apparent awareness of her sons' predestined apotheosis. She then is able to place them, and by implication herself, in an artistic proclamation of their place within the scheme of divine activity. This is not presumption, as Jupiter later confirms her artistic declaration of myth with his blessing of his sons at 1.561-73. Leda's shorthand use of

[410]Thompson (1895) 107-8 notes that several authors assert that the Leda/swan/Dioscuri myth are astrological in origin. For reference lists of ancient arguments for and against the so-called 'swan song', see 106-7.

[411]Though the event was probably not meant to emulate an omen; rather, it is an example of the tradition of the enmity between the species, Arist. *Hist. An.* 9.1.610; Pliny puts it very simply in *NH* 10.104: *dissident olores et aquilae.*

[412]Kleywegt (2005) 252 notes the chiasmus meshing the two, presumably snow-white, species.

the swan, suggestive of the same material presented in weaving that caused so much consternation in the Arachne episode, marks an appropriation of an animal symbol that represents a boundary crossing (between divine-as-animal and human) that has elsewhere meant great distress for other women. But here, the woman has more than accepted the event, and turns the most potentially shameful symbol of it to her own storytelling programme, in which she does not challenge the gods, but aligns herself and her sons with them.

Leda's cloak is all but overtly self-referential, while the cloak of Hypsipyle, VF's other animal representation in weaving, contains one panel that is not only self-referential, but possibly even self-representational. The cloak Hypsipyle gives to Jason upon the *Argo*'s departure contains two separate images, one featuring the rescue of Thoas, in which Hypsipyle herself may be depicted, while the other, the rape of Ganymede, is not so obviously related to its artist. As indicated above, Hypsipyle's cloak, much more strongly than that of Leda, evokes both Jason's cloak in AR 1, and the *chlamys* featuring the rape of Ganymede in *Aen*. 5. The cloak here in VF is counterpart to the cloak woven for Jason by Athena in AR, designed to enhance his appearance and to impress Hypsipyle when they meet, as well as to the one or two cloaks given to Jason by AR's Hypsipyle herself. The several possible artistic and programmatic functions of the Hellenistic cloak ekphrasis in AR 1.730-67 have been much discussed; one of its key meanings is to define Jason as an updated hero, with post- or non-Homeric skills and traits, one of which is his 'reliance on persuasion, rather than force.' The donning of the cloak also acts as a substitute for an expected arming scene.[413] In the Valerian narrative, VF delays the cloak ekphrasis, denying the stay on Lemnos the build-up of expectation that AR's ekphrasis creates. It is a necessary part of the plot that he does not adorn with a beautification of Jason. Instead, as discussed in Chapter 1, VF emphasizes the readiness of Jason to return to the quest upon Hercules' exhortation, a subtle challenge to the message latent in the omission of the arming scene in AR which VF complements with the gift from Hypsipyle to Jason of Thoas' sword (*Arg.* 2.418). Finally, the delay of the cloak ekphrasis weights the moment of farewell between the Minyae and the Lemnians, rather than their meeting.

In the case of this cloak, the animal art is not directly representative of the weaver's own story as is the swan for Leda. Nevertheless, Hypsipyle has woven it herself and gives it as a gift to Jason, and it thus is most likely connected with her identity or

[413]Shapiro (1980) 264.

personal experience (perhaps with Jason) in some way. Like Leda's, this Valerian cloak ekphrasis does not have a direct model in AR. AR does mention the pedigree of at least one cloak (if not two) given Jason by Hypsipyle, though any pattern on it is not described.[414] In VF, in contrast, the reader is permitted to see at least the two panels on the cloak woven by Hypsipyle mentioned earlier, one portraying the rescue of Thoas, which is on the surface a benevolent intervention by Bacchus.[415] And similar to Homer's Helen, Hypsipyle acts as a counterpart poet for this sub-narrative, no doubt telling the story of the Rescue in her own way. Her telling of the story of Ganymede on the other panel is also noteworthy, and her use of animal imagery even more so. This second narrative she depicts, however, is one far less obviously relevant to the *Arg.* itself, and has strong echoes not of AR (or internal ones of VF), but of Virgil. This being the case, it can be argued that this image is intended to communicate to VF's readers rather than to the Minyae or other in-narrative viewers:

> pars et frondosae raptus expresserat Idae
> inlustremque fugam pueri, mox aethere laetus
> adstabat mensis, quin et Iovis armiger ipse
> accipit a Phrygio iam pocula blanda ministro.
>
> And part had shown the rape on leafy Ida
> and the renowned flight of the boy; soon in heaven
> he was happily attending the tables, and even Jupiter's armour-bearer himself
> now receives an enticing drink from the Phrygian servant. [2.414-7]

The focus on the snatching is brief, the *inlustris fuga* already so well known that VF need not offer details. Rather, the narrative shifts eagerly—*mox*—to the positive outcome, the happy (*laetus*) Ganymede's enviable place among the gods, and his still-winsome ways. Notable is that this is established through the double-representation of and naming of the eagle on the cloak and in the text, the only 'participant' at the banquet

[414]If there are two (the cloaks may be one and the same), the first is the dark (κυάνεον) cloak Jason wraps around himself before he goes to meet Medea for the Hecatean night ritual, 3.1204b-6; the second is the scarlet/purple (πορφύρεον) cloak passed down via Thoas from Dionysus (woven for him by the Graces) to Hypsipyle, presented as one of several gifts in the tricking of Apsyrtus in 4.421ff. While the appearance of the cloak is not discussed in detail, it has a multi-sensory intoxicating effect, like wine, 428b-30; Shapiro (1980) 271. In addition, the specified colours of the cloaks correspond to Jason's and Medea's errands for which the cloaks are used.

[415]V. Fl. 2.410-3. This is a commemoration of Hypsipyle's achievement.

focused on specifically and in proximity to the youth. The animal not directly mentioned in the act of capture (though presumably it is visible there) with which it is typically associated, is shown in a new posture, drinking from the cup in Ganymede's hand.

In contrast to the other mythic ekphrases, the subjects of which may lie outside the scope of VF's narrative proper, the rape of Ganymede does not even have a tangential connection to the journey of the *Argo*.[416] One reason for the inclusion of Ganymede here may be literary flourish, but it is interesting for its presentation of the eagle, again *Iovis armiger*. While its subject is perhaps dually inspired by both Virgil and AR, the visual model for VF's Ganymede ekphrasis is found in Virgil.[417] Unlike in *Aeneid* 1, wherein the history of the cloak of Helen rather than its appearance is described, the origin of the cloak given as a prize by Aeneas in the funeral games for Anchises is not told. Its embroidered scene, however, is:[418]

> Ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
> victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
> purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
> intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
> veloces iaculo cervos cursuque fatigat,
> acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes ab Ida
> sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis;
> longaevi palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
> custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.
>
> To the leaders themselves he adds foremost honors:
> to the victor, a golden cloak, around which a deep Meliboean purple
> ran with a double wandering [wave],
> and embroidered is the royal boy on leafy Ida,

[416]The two panels of the ekphrasis of the *Argo* show the wedding party en route to the wedding of Peleus (an Argonaut) and Thetis, and the battle between the Lapiths and Centaurs, in which Aeson, among others, took part (1.130-6, 137-48). While much more complex, the doors of the Temple of Sol also basically tell two stories: the history of Colchis and its royal family's ancestry (5.416-32), and the story of Jason and Medea from the arrival of the *Argo* through Medea's revenge in Corinth (5.433-51a).
[417]AR offers a brief account of how Ganymede came to be among the gods at 3.115-7a, where the poet tells of Eros and Ganymede playing dice together. He does not mention the means by which Zeus took him, merely that he brought him to live with the gods κάλλεος ἱμερθείς.
[418]Second prize, however, a mail shirt, is given an Iliadic history, *Aen.* 5.258-62.

> and he wearies the swift deer with his coursing javelin,
> keen, and similar to one panting, whom lifted high from Ida the fleet
> armour-bearer of Jove snatched with his curved talons; 255
> the aged shepherds stretch forth their hands to the stars to no avail,
> and the barking of the dogs rages in the breezes. [*Aen.* 5.249-7]

This is the same *inlustris fuga* that VF does not need to tell. VF also omits to give any details of the overall texture or colour (it is only *textos labores,* 409), or of the border, of his epic cloak, and instead focuses immediately on the 'painted' images. In comparing the two passages, Virgil's reminder that Ganymede is woven (*intextus*) is answered with VF's *expresserat*, harking back to the use of *expressa* in the Phalerus passage and hinting at a quasi-agency of the medium. The texture of the setting is the same, *frondosa Ida*. Beyond that, the focus and narration of the events are complementary, and in VF's case, corrective.

In the first place, Virgil attributes the snatching of Ganymede to an agent of Jupiter, rather than to Jupiter in disguise (once more *Iovis armiger*). Different streams of tradition allow for either, as the capture and 'flight' of Ganymede can be accomplished either way.[419] But there is no ending here, a denial of satisfaction of expectation for Jupiter, Ganymede, and the reader; Ganymede never arrives in Olympus, never meets Jupiter, never undergoes apotheosis. At the end of the ekphrasis, the gaze of the viewer is brought back down to earth, and the closing impression is one of the frustration and futile protests of both human and animal guardians left to suffer the loss of the boy. The function of such a presentation of the Ganymede tale points to the moral ambiguity of especially the end of the epic, the doubling of suffering youthful characters, and the need for a victim to attain victory.[420]

As noted with the eagle, in the cloak ekphrasis VF has elided details from the rape of Ganymede and emphasizes his life on Olympus. VF has made use of Virgil's fuller narrative, but this is actually reflected much earlier, in the eagle omen at 1.156-60.

---

[419]Most prominent in the tradition is that Jupiter either disguised himself as an eagle, *Gk. Anth.* iv. pg.118 as cited in Thompson [1895] 4; Nonnus, *Dion.* 10. 258 ff., 25. 430 ff., or sends an eagle to fetch Ganymede, as in Theoc. *Id*. 15.124, Hor. *Carm.* 4.4, Verg. *Aen*. 5, Ov. *Met.* 10.157-62. The former may have become the preferred version later on. In *Il.* 20.230-5, the gods generally are credited with whisking Ganymede away for Zeus, but in Hom. *Il.* 5.265-7 Zeus himself offers recompense—fine horses—to Tros for the theft of his son. Another stream involves an anthropomorphic Zeus coming upon Ganymede, as seen in classical Greek material culture (e.g. in the version of the abduction on a 5th c. Attic cup by the Penthesilea Painter, Museo Archeological Nazionale, Ferrara).

[420]Putnam (1995) 422-4, 430.

There VF's Jason observes an eagle snatching a lamb and making off with it over the sea, with shepherds and sheepdogs in vain pursuit. Jason interprets himself as the eagle, Pelias' young son Acastus as the lamb, and the omen itself as a sign of Jupiter's approval (which the narrator neither confirms nor denies) of Jason's intent to avenge himself on Pelias by persuading Acastus to join the voyage. VF's *validis unguibus* in this omen mirrors Virgil's remark on the ekphrastic eagle's talons, *pedibus uncis,* which have the potential to harm even Ganymede.[421] In addition, Virgil's image of the panicked servants and barking dogs left behind are picked up in *Arg*. 1.158-9a.[422] VF employs the imagery surrounding the Virgilian departure of Ganymede in the scene of an omen in which Jason reads Jupiter's eagle as an analogue to himself.

Here on Hypsipyle's cloak, in the depiction of Ganymede living happily among the gods, the desirability and stability of his position as cup-bearer is sealed with a sort of ring composition, parallel to the circularity of direction of gaze in Virgil's ekphrasis.[423] While the flight of Ganymede is not narrated at length, a parallel snatching by *Iovis armiger* has already taken place in Book 1, apparently sanctioned by Jupiter. Given the dual tradition of Ganymede's capture by Jupiter's agent or by Jupiter in the form of an eagle, the vagueness of the reference to Ganymede's unexpected departure leaves the identity of the raptor—Jupiter or his assistant—ambiguous, while the use of *Iovis armiger* at the close of the ekphrasis harkens back to the omen. Even more, Hypsipyle's Ganymede and eagle finish the story Virgil deliberately does not. VF also provides a relational and emotional resolution to the tension running through Virgil's ekphrasis, which is a 'mere...transitional moment, the triumph of immortal beast over immortal man, of strong over weak...'[424] The emotionally detached and threatening animal from Virgil's story is refashioned and recharacterized, presented in a similar proximity to Ganymede but with a very different attitude. The eagle, like the gods, now enjoys Ganymede's pleasant company and service, a sign of the integration of the youth among the divine. Even in the banquet setting, Jupiter is not mentioned; his eagle stands in for him as a sign of Ganymede's happiness with his circumstances, and presumably, with their relationship.

What is unclear is what Hypsipyle's narration of the apotheosis of Ganymede has to

[421]Putnam (1995) 423.
[422]Statius reintroduces the dogs into the scene at *Theb.*1.550-1. There is no explicit mention of Jupiter or the species of bird; Ganymede is simply *tollitur fulvis alis*. This is also presented as one of a pair of images (as in VF 2, while Virgil's Ganymede appears alone), which are embossed on Adrastus' bowl; the first is of Perseus in flight, Medusa's head in hand, 544-7.
[423]Putnam (1995) 422-3.
[424]Putnam (1995)424.

do with its companion story, the rescue of Thoas, and with Hypsipyle herself. AR brought Jupiter's (Zeus') rape of Ganymede into epic, and Virgil invokes it as the pinnacle of Jupiter's betrayal of Juno at *Aen*. 1.28 and illustrates it in fabric.[425] VF, or rather, Hypsipyle, focuses on the friendly dynamic between Ganymede and the eagle that took him away and brought him to his new home, a happy ending.[426] The animal representative of Jupiter that at first signals disaster to humans (certainly loss to Ganymede's family) proves to be the seal of blessing. Hypsipyle's pairing of this with the fate of Thoas suggests an unlooked-for positive outcome from what at first appears to be only desperate straits. Hypsipyle re-presents Ganymede's interaction with the eagle as a token of Ganymede's good fortune, emphasising his good life while VF elides the hackneyed imagery of his 'flight'. With her turn on the narrative, she looks forward to a better future for herself and her people as well as for her father, in the face of obstacles, and, at present, disappointment (the Argonauts' departure from Lemnos).[427] Like Leda, Hypsipyle artfully depicts an animal— namely another avian symbol of Jupiter—to represent her identification and association with divine activity, and in this case, with divine beneficence.[428] Hypsipyle on a metapoetic level receives the imagery of Ganymede's abduction and the power of the *armiger Iovis*. Her artistic contribution however adds a new function for the eagle, a representative of both the beginning and end of Ganymede's journey, its participation in Hypsipyle's chosen chapter of the story signifying the Lemnian queen's hopeful expectations. These expectations and new reading of the Ganymede story, such a striking departure from Virgil's, also suggest VF's epic is on a different trajectory from the *Aeneid*, with greater potential for moral clarity and mortal satisfaction. Given the themes further explored by VF, and the ambiguity of both heroes' actions and the motivations of the gods, for example, this suggestion of trajectory may be ironic or even misleading. VF, through Hypsipyle, has presented a positive perspective on the rape of Ganymede, but in his epic's 'reality', he has repeated the Virgilian event (the omen in Book 1), with complex and overwhelmingly negative consequences. The turn of the eagle in Hypsipyle's cloak,

[425]Feeney (1991) 66, 131.
[426]See Krevans (2002) on the textile-based connections between Leda, Helen, AR's Hypsipyle and Dido; she points out the irony of the particular evocation of Hypsipyle in the death of Dido, for the Hellenistic Hypsipyle, like VF's, 'is the woman who negotiates the hazards of abandonment best', and when compared especially with Dido, she is a 'queen [who] made better choices—for herself and her subjects' (182), behaviour and choices which are Romanised and valourised by VF, and illustrated in her own artwork.
[427]Unfortunately for Jason, the rape of Ganymede prefigures the theft of Medea, in itself shorthand for all the misery of their relationship in the long term.
[428]Though for Thoas, Bacchus rather than Jupiter is believed to have provided aid.

complemented by the omen eagle, may be one further instance of VF's interaction with and response to the tradition toward which he so often consciously gestures.

ii. Medea & 'Circe': Self-Fashioning with Dragons

Leda and Hypsipyle are both female artists with the power and will to represent aspects of their respective personal histories and positions, and both use animal symbols to communicate aspects of their identity and aspirations. In the final case, however, of female appropriation of animal symbols, Medea, does not visually represent animals as symbols in art. The animals do occur in the art of others, though, and Medea's interaction with these animals comprise first an internalization of them as symbol of another human, and then an appropriation of them as symbol for herself. Eventually, these animals—the dragons of her aunt, Circe—will become a part of her literary and real-world visual iconography. In the process, the dragons will play a crucial role in her articulation of the evolution of Medea's identity to herself and others.

Of course, Medea's affectionate farewell to the serpent of Mars in Book 8 is in part an expression of her (difficult) choice between Jason and her own home and family. But while the serpent will remain behind, her bond with it illustrates unchanging aspects of her character: her identity as sorceress, and in some sense, her unique proximity to particular animals. But before she says goodbye to her beloved pet in the narrative, she does, even without knowing it, twice engage in self-representation with (mythical) animal imagery that will function first as thematic complement to Mars' serpent, and then as a replacement of it in the communication and confirmation of her developing identity. In these instances, from her own mouth Medea appears to be attributing certain qualifiers to her aunt Circe, but she is also in the process of creating herself. One of these qualifiers is the dragon-drawn chariot, part of Medea's iconography long before VF, but as yet unknown to the Medea of the Argonautic reality. Dragons, along with other mythical creatures and monsters, have of necessity been generally omitted from this discussion. Yet while they are different from the superficially 'normal' animals used by humans in the previous section, they merit mention here because of their significance in the individual—Medea's—imagination as a means of both identifying someone else, and building one's own identity. It is their association with Circe as iconographic non-human companion, rather than as magical beast, that is important for this purpose.

Medea's interest in the chariot dragons is not the first occasion in which VF

introduces them. Before Medea herself appears in the narrative, her future use of the dragons, already of course familiar to the narratees, is envisioned twice, once as early as the seer Mopsus' ominous prophecy in Book 1. Mopsus' narration of his vision confirms Medea's identity through her appearance before describing her actions; she is covered with gore and flying with dragons, *aligeris anguibus* (1.224-5a), and Mopsus then creates a chain of horror imagery as he names her weapon, Jason's perspective, the children (225), and finally the honeymoon suite of Jason and his bride Creusa set ablaze (226). When the Minyae arrive in Colchis in Book 5, VF reverses Mopsus' order of the imagery in his description of the doors of the Temple of the Sun, where he juxtaposes Jason's and Medea's wedding with that of Jason and Creusa, for whom Medea prepares her bridal 'gifts' (5.447-8). Creusa herself is shown, combusting under the treated clothing which then sets the palace on fire (5.449-51a). VF briefly breaks in on the ekphrasis, noting that this is Vulcan's handiwork, his audience the Colchians, and then remarks that they specifically neither recognize the event nor the bloody charioteer driving winged serpents: *haec tum miracula Colchis/ struxerat ignipotens nondum noscentibus, ille/ quis labor, aligeris aut quae secet anguibus auras/ caede madens* 'then these marvel the Fire-master had built for the Colchians, they not yet recognizing [them, either] what that Labor was, or who it was who cut through the breeze with winged serpents, dripping with gore', (5.451b-4a). The turn aside adds emphasis to the portrait of Medea, their own princess whom the Colchians cannot identify. The events depicted and described earlier would have been sufficient to communicate the narrative of Euripides, but VF caps it with the ultimate iconography of Medea's triumph—her departure for Athens in her dragon chariot, still dripping with the blood of her own children. Mopsus opens his description in Book 1 by identifying Medea in her well-known guise as a still image (though he adds movement with *secet auras*) in art. VF's narration of the Temple doors does the opposite, closing with that familiar view and contrasting his own readers' experience with the Colchians' ignorance.[429]

The prophet and Vulcan are attributed these visualizations by the narrator, while the rest of the humans throughout the *Arg*. remain 'in the dark' as to the meaning of the dragons and their driver. VF's readers are reminded, through the affirmation of the

[429]The best-known of these depictions is probably that on the Lucanian calyx-krater from c.400 BC, whereon the events are illustrated on the bottom and sides framing the central image, Medea in her chariot further framed by a ring with sun-like rays (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1991.1). A frontal portrait of the Sun is effectively framed by the dragons themselves in the lower centre of the Apulian red-figure volute-krater by the Underworld Painter, as the Sun prepares to hand over the chariot to Medea, about to kill one of her children (Munich, Antikensammlungen 3296).

characters' ignorance, of the cultural currency of the imagery, VF's conceit of the rootedness of the signifying power and relevance of that imagery over time and within both mythic narrative and the literary tradition. The narratees are also reassured of the fact and advantage of their own intertextual/intermedial familiarity with Medea and her retinue of trademark features and images. Just as significant, however, as the narrator's own turn on the visuals is Medea's fascination with the twin chariot dragons. She first broaches the subject with her sister, in the midst of her distress and confused feelings, during a conversation couched between similes describing her first as the tormented Io, and then as the frantic lapdog:

> ...venit in carae gremium refugitque sororis
> atque loqui conata silet rursusque recedens
> quaerit, ut Aeaeis hospes consederit oris
> Phrixus, ut aligeri Circen rapuere dracones. 120
>
> ...she comes and takes refuge in the lap of her dear sister
> and trying to speak, stays silent; or [and] she'll come back again
> and ask, how the stranger Phrixus settled on the Aeaean
> shores, [or] how winged dragons took Circe away. [7.117-20]

At first glance, Medea's two topics of interest seem to be past events, and so they are. The detail of the dragons, however, also look forward to her own sojourn (like Phrixus') in a foreign land. Phrixus' arrival on the magical ram is the real beginning of the story of the Golden Fleece, or more accurately, of Jason and Medea. The dragons drawing a woman away, here Circe prefiguring Medea, will be its end.

Whatever tale Chalciope tells Medea does not quite satisfy her curiosity, and so when Venus appears as Circe, Medea has the opportunity to ask the sorceress herself about the reason for her flight, and why she has so long stayed away from her homeland: *o tandem, vix tandem reddita Circe/ dura tuis, quae te biiugis serpentibus egit/ hinc fuga quaeve fuit patriis mora gratior oris?*, 'O at last, scarcely at last harsh Circe, returned to your own, what flight drove you from this place with the twin-yoked serpents, or what delay was more pleasing that the paternal shores?', (7.217b-9). Her repeated inquiries about Circe's departure, to both Chalciope and 'Circe' herself, shows

at this stage a preoccupation with her aunt's exotic adventure.[430] While in either case the question of Circe's escape and her mode of transport may be rhetorical, Medea's specific mention of the twin-yoked dragons further proves a particular interest in this aspect of Circe's past.[431] It is a clever proleptic nod by the narrator not even through another character, but rather through the dragon-driver herself, who has not yet taken the reins. In fact, Medea is fascinated by this feature she will someday share with her sorceress aunt, and which has already been a mark of her identity—and future—in its own right, both in Mopsus' prophecy and Vulcan's handiwork for Sol's temple doors. Medea's interest in Circe's dramatic and successful escape from undesirable circumstances in Colchis betrays her own wish for escape from her distress. In a sense she sees Circe in herself (or rather, herself in Circe), while the fantastical element of Circe's transport may fascinate because it is as yet out of reach.

VF has used Medea's contemplation of escape and (perhaps unconscious) self-alignment with Circe, and especially the experience of Circe with the dragons, as a means for her to contribute to the forging of her own identity, the foretelling of her own future, however unaware she may be that she is doing so.[432] On another level, the actions of this 'Circe' prefigure Medea's own transformation into a 'tragic Fury' as in Seneca's *Medea*, which closes with Medea's assertion that Jason ought to recognize her by her mode of transport: *coniugem agnoscis tuam?/ sic fugere soleo,* 'Do you recognize your wife? I am accustomed to fly in this way', (1021b-2a). The dragons should appear familiar to him, 'customary' because of the many times they have borne her away in the various tellings of her story.[433] Medea will come to know herself quite thoroughly, as she does in tragedy. For now, even her own interest in the creatures which will one day play such an important part in the iconography of her triumph, and seal her self-realization, shows her mind is already turned toward the future. This process of self-realization is already under way, though at the moment, the animals she visualizes are associated with and representative of a kind of pre-incarnation of herself. Medea's tender regard for Mars' serpent in the grove guarding the Fleece helps to explain what may be for Medea a fascination with dragons and serpents generally. But the repetition of both representation of herself and Circe with them, independent of each

[430]Circe's trip in Helios' chariot is briefly told by Aeetes in Ap. Rhod. 3.309ff., and the reason for her flight westward more extensively in Diod. Sic. 4.45.
[431]Spaltenstein (2005) 271.
[432]Though she is aware of something, as she recognizes the Furial element behind Venus' disguise (7.249-50), Davis (2014) 201.
[433]Buckley (2014) 316-7.

other, indicates a special overlap between the two women's stories and characters in the sharing of the dragons as associates. Medea may only now wish to escape her predicament as Circe did, but in the future, she will escape in the same way, having appropriated the animal symbols of Circe's self-empowerment and -direction. But like Castor, she will not have appropriated merely the symbols, but the real thing. Winged dragons just like Circe's, if not the very same, will ensure her escape, seal her victory, and accompany her as they already have (even in the *Arg*. itself) throughout innumerable renditions of her tragedy in literature and the visual arts.

Conclusion.

Human use of animal parts and imagery in the *Arg*. reflects humans' various ways of receiving and using animal behaviour in their own shaping and representing of the relationship between animal and human, and/or self. In the case of animal-derived costume, the animal suffers for the privilege. Male appropriation of animal skins seems often to be for the purpose of asserting human power and aggression, but violence is often turned backwards upon them in death. Jason and Hercules, in contrast, have a specialised context for their appropriation of animal parts that protects them (at least with respect to the deaths of the Nemean lion and Phrixus' ram) from a recurrence of violence against them. The Nemean lion is a badge of Hercules' heroic mission, for which he will eventually be rewarded. Jason wins the Fleece and is for the moment, like Hercules, successful, and the Fleece itself will be incidental to the failure and tragedy he eventually experiences. Animals in art of course are somewhat different, yet when used by men, depicting violence in assertion of martial skill nevertheless communicate in various ways and effectively the human identity, and incorporation of the animal into the declaration of that identity. For Castor in particular, the horse in art is multivalent, providing both a representation of Cyllarus and a template for Cyllarus' substitute in Book 6—an artistic guarantor of both Castor's past and future self-realization.

Leda and Hypsipyle's art, in turn, demonstrates a very specific projection of meaning onto animal images, through their careful and specific representations and contextualizing of the animals as divine, and general properties of the species are not part of the association. Women in the *Arg.* do not have much opportunity to act: Leda sends her sons on the expedition, and Hypsipyle has had her moment and must let Jason go. But their individual assertions of status, merit and their experiences through animal

images and forms allow them to proclaim their places in the mythic cosmos in brief but sophisticated messaging through art. Medea's imagining of animals takes place on an even more metapoetic level, with a more abstract sort of craftswomanship. Her appreciation, and later appropriation, of Circe's dragons allow her to participate in VF's negotiation of his work in the tradition, by articulating aspects of her (future) identity without even realizing it. As a general rule, the female appropriators of animal imagery —the two weavers—stand in striking contrast to the majority of male characters—a prominent exception perhaps being Phalerus—discussed in the first part of the chapter. Rather than admitting, much less highlighting, cycles and consequences of violence, Leda and Hypsipyle recuperate previously dark (metamorphic) animal imagery in a way that emphasizes their personal status and even their good fortune. These two women apparently have found ways to live with violence and depict their adaptability through animal art. Medea's engagement with violence is less straightforward, but as a participant in a visual discourse, like Leda and Hypsipyle, she envisions empowerment through or with animals, notably to counteract male antagonism.

VF's development of the motif of animal appropriation explores different themes and different approaches by humans to animals and means of using them as signifiers. With men, the connotations of violence and power significant to humans are meant to suggest victory over other humans, and subjugation of animals. Yet objects often end up demonstrating the cyclical, retributive nature of violence, with only specific humans in specific contexts exempted. Women's reception of animals' significance, and subsequent representations of them, tend to be more nuanced, in some cases showing a marked deviation from depictions of violence. Still women coming to terms with their vulnerability may find animal imagery useful in imagining empowerment to protect or avenge. Animals in certain forms, for the women and for Castor, are also seen as desirable associates, not necessarily victims whose part is to be trophies for human vaunting. As seen in especially the crafted objects, the power of animal imagery to communicate on multiple levels is clear and often pointed. The animals, their behaviour and the portrayals of their particular interactions with humans bear personal significance to the characters in the narrative, and also communicate aspects of generic interactions between the *Arg*. and other texts.

Indeed, the appropriation of animals for communication takes place even on the level of crafting epic. As a result, the narrator's, or VF's, self-aware representation of the human characters' appropriation of animals and enactment of their reception of

interactions with animals can be read. Taking into account the different approaches to (and consequences of) reception and appropriation of animal interactions, whether it be between use of animal bodies and artistic representations of animals, or between use of animals in art by men and women, clarity and success of communication depends on the functionality, perhaps tied to the morality, of the dynamic between the animal and human in the given instance. In sum, the place of animals in a human-dominated narrative and world seems to depend very much on the human. Yet VF still allows even the dead animal to eclipse the human, asserting the dignity of the former while deflating the asserted identity and power of the latter. Human assertions of dominion are ever tenuous, and in a complex network of claims to power and identity, the animal may emerge as an active and even aggressive participant in unexpected ways.

General Conclusion.

[15] Alas for the day!
For the day of the Lord is near,
and as destruction from the Almighty it comes.
[16] Is not the food cut off
before our eyes,
joy and gladness
from the house of our God?...
[18] How the beasts groan!
The herds of cattle are perplexed
because there is no pasture for them;
even the flocks of sheep suffer.
[19] To you, O Lord, I call…
[20] Even the beasts of the field pant for you
because the water brooks are dried up,
and fire has devoured
the pastures of the wilderness.
-Joel 1:15-16, 18-19a, 20. (ESV)

VF's animals bring together several significant themes from not only the Argonautic tradition, but also from across epic and further afield, including other genres and real-life cultural experience. For in addition to their immediate literary functions within isolated passages, animals are powerful signifiers for human political, social, and psychological commentary and consideration more generally, all of which reflect realities personal and communal in VF's Flavian context. Furthermore, VF probes such themes not only in relation to humans, but more importantly to animals as well, first within the text and then by extension to both in the real world. Questions raised in the General Introduction are thus answered: about animals' role in VF's poetic technique, plot and messaging; how they demonstrate his interaction with the epic tradition; and at least on the part of the author, how their representations suggest a significant development in the perception and consideration of animal subjectivity. And of course, as posited in the Introduction, VF's animal representations demand an examination of the moral and ethical implications resulting from the text's acknowledgement and exploration of animal subjectivity. Finally, answering these questions and linking results, so as to reveal and integrate the many facets of animals' function and their interactions with humans in the poem, has required the combined language and perspectives of different scholarly approaches.

Summary: Animal Experience.

The juxtaposition of and interplay between animal action and presence at different levels of meaning, the figurative (similes), literal (animal-human interactions), and a

sort of blend in which humans interpret and represent those interactions and draw on animals' figurative potential—at another level from that of the narrator—allows for the author's development of ideas already latent or even explicitly suggested in Roman thought, indeed in epic. These developments then invite the reader to assess, and perhaps judge, the animal-human dynamics of the epic's world in light of the complexity of animal experience presented and even argued for in the similes and in the action. The narrator does so himself, even writing consequences that resemble, or truly are, punishments for human failure to understand their obligation toward the non-human indicated by the reality of animal capacity for suffering and devotion, and their empathy-evoking, subjective embodiment.

On the one hand, as discussed in the first half of the thesis, the reflexive potential of similes is exploited in multiple ways by VF. It may seem at first that he is merely mapping human perspective onto animal experience, but in those similes in which the animals' episodes diverge significantly from the human character's situation, the effect is actually the emphasis of the animal perspective, an animal-centric subjectivity, then mapped back onto the human. The simile, though predominantly an epic device, nevertheless is VF's major vehicle for developing the animal world and life in its own right, while demonstrating the impact of philosophical discourse on fictional/mythical epic. At the same time, his dialogue with Lucretius and Virgil in particular may reflect developing perceptions shared by VF's contemporaries, that is, more general perceptions or categorizations of real-world experience with animals which VF mobilizes for more effective depictions in fiction, with the moral questions and ethical implications arising as a necessary result.

Of course, inherited from and then evolving within the simile tradition itself, but no longer limited to similar action or behaviour between species, the sometime empathetic/sympathetic reflexivity of asserted shared emotional experience means that the animal experience is compelling in its own right, and not simply as an alternative picture of the human. This has the perhaps unexpected consequence for the reader of reinforcing the bond and deepening the universal accessibility of even heroes' experience (as for example in the Hercules/halycon parallel). For the *Arg*., this subjectivizing of individual experience in the world of animals fits in with other scholars' observations of VF's psychologizing of his material. His interest in the internal, both intellectual and emotional, workings of his human characters shows in his use of them as not only the source of motivations for the furtherance of the plot, but as

motifs in their own right. To explore the internal world requires a tour of individual perception and perspective, and in several instances animals' unique point of view is highlighted, as in the fledgling and warhorse similes. Indeed the reader is invited to envision via the lens of animal perspective, occasionally even through the use of animal focalizers. Conceptualizations of animal perspective developed in the field of animal studies, along with Korhonen and Tuonakoski's arguments about animal empathy, are seen here to be usefully applied in analysis of VF (and no doubt will be to other classical texts), and overlap with already-observed themes in his poem. The world of epic, with its far-reaching consequences and high-risk action, is also dominated by the narrator's revelation of and fascination with the intimate and personal, both animal and human.

Elsewhere, in other types of context, VF dwells not on the individual subjective angle, but rather on the connections between animals to one another within sets of similes, and to one another on the simile level, in social groups. He develops these connections across several instances of similes featuring common epic animals, using animals' relationships to one another both in nature and as asserted in the epic tradition as templates for human interactions (like the bulls within or outside the herd context). The parallel function of the animals as common types or in patterned imagery, and as particularly Valerian in presentation and frequency, serves to characterize the humans and their relationships on parallel levels: the patterned and/or repeated imagery reveals the Valerian aspects of the relationships between the characters of the *Arg*. within the text itself, as well as the relationships of these Valerian iterations to their counterparts in other works of the genre (for example Hercules', Aeson's, Jason's and Telamon's lions, evoking those lion similes of Caesar, Penelope/Turnus, Nisus, and Ajax respectively).[434]

More generally, the programmatic effect of characterizing human activity and identity through development of especially typed epic animals, and remodelling some of the typology, focuses again on the psychological/subjective component. Yet VF takes this inquiry one step further, examining the role of individuals within community and 'history', and their own perceptions of place and community. And with regard to his real-world context, the dual-level patterned imagery contextualizes the characters within the Valerian mythic world, which allows for a generically negotiated reflection upon his contemporary political climate. Animals are used to illustrate especially the dynamic between identity—within heritage and local community—and negotiations of power

[434]Pp. 92-4, 97, 100-1, 107.

and heroism, ancient preoccupations of epic but imbued with new complexity and written in a context of recent political upheaval. An ideal citizen-hero emerges from the chaos, but while animals figure such a hero, humans continually fall short of the standard.

Summary: Animal-Human Dynamics.

On the other hand, VF considers whether a similarly empathetic understanding of animals on the part of his human characters is reflected in their actions. In similes he can isolate the animal. In the action, animals are predominantly seen in direct interactions between human and animal, and here he reveals especially the impact of human intervention on animal life (though both species affect one another), for good or ill—mostly for ill even when animals form close bonds with humans. In the epigraph's excerpt from the biblical book of Joel, animals and the rest of nature suffer the effects of human sin, and the prophet describes them crying out to God in their need. VF's animals too cannot seem to escape the consequences of human desires and actions. While in especially the animal-community similes, models for behaviour seem simple, with right and wrong clearly distinguished, animal-human interactions, like human-human, prove that reality is much more complicated. That heroism and benevolent power highlighted in certain similes is rarely if ever realized in close animal-human contact. The recuperated Jason is given a context to demonstrate his spectacular skill, but through the civil war in particular, VF's programme denies Jason a morally unambiguous heroism. Instead, the martial episode which gains the Minyae nothing is further darkened by tragic imagery, its heroic imagery diluted by the repeated suffering of (noble) innocents, human and animal alike, and the striking combination of subjectivity and brevity with which their suffering and deaths are described. This doubt about the value of martial endeavour is extended to representations of even generic humans, such as the unnamed, even faceless hunters, a repeated indictment for the deleterious effect of human ambition and violence on nature.

VF achieves an unprecedented empathetic focus on the animal, contrasted simultaneously with a sinister effacing or diminishing of the identity or virtue of the human through taut direction of the narratee's gaze, seen most clearly in the two scenes of hunting/fowling.[435] This deliberate over-shadowing of the hunter further dehumanizes the exercise of human power over animals (also suggested in the dubious portrayal of

[435]Pp. 146-53, 187-8.

sacrifice in the necromancy) and deflates human cunning and opportunism. Such cases as this also show the importance of analysing the narrative technique employed in representation of the animal, and the narrator's means of creating and defining the relationship between animal and reader. At any rate, not every interaction between animal and human in the narrative is violent subjugation. In fact, in some contexts the shared capacity for friendship does reveal both animal and human virtue, especially among warriors and their horses. Like humans, animals are both vulnerable and strong, empathetic and brave, and their enjoyment in co-pursuit of human goals is nevertheless real. What is clear is that VF's humans do not relate to animals consistently, and certainly have not been shaped by serious consideration of animal experience, as portrayed in the similes, and the resulting implications for subjectivity and suffering.

While there is not really a developed portrayal of animal-human interactions from the perspective of the animal, certain characters' self-representation reveals what the humans at the level of the narrative think about animals, and the meanings they assign and attribute to them on both a socio-communal level and an individual one. These meanings are the main reason they then appropriate animals for their personal messaging through wearing animal skins or carrying artistic representations of them. Inherently variable and malleable, the meanings intended—and the truth-value of those meanings—intended by the wearers, makers and owners of the personal objects are also often unstable. In the cases of animal skins the appropriated animals, their lives ended and their perception suppressed, are revealed in the consequences of the human appropriation. The signifying function therefore does not serve to bolster human authority or dominion over the animal. The use of animals as symbols in art on personal objects, however, is more nuanced. These instances of visual media illustrate first VF's interaction with the ekphrastic tradition, and second, suggest the relationship between humans' identification of themselves through use of animals as symbols and their personal stories and fates, as seen in the objects of Phalerus and Castor. Projected and received meaning, varying by viewing audience, do not always correspond, the ambiguous imagery pointing to multiple interpretations and demonstrating the tendentiousness of individual claims to, for example, heroism and victory, as in the cases of Cyzicus and Armes. And as in the case of the narration of interactions between animals and humans, the approach adopted in analysing the animal-centric media proves the relevance and perhaps necessity of applying narratological concepts like focalization, and associated aspects of reception, in the study of animals, and of course

humans' appropriation of them.

On a programmatic level, upon inspection VF's various ekphrases may be categorised along the lines of the artist's gender, and his/her approach to violence. Sets of similar appropriations indicate a division of thought about animals, and animals as symbols, along gender lines and often with correlating consequences. These groupings allow VF to make a distinction between how men and women relate to animals and make use of their meaning potential. Men on the whole seek to assert their status through subjugation or killing, while women, generally not killers, have also not depicted themselves as victims. Leda and Hypsipyle take part in the generic past-time of producing woven textiles which characterize their participation as women in their respective societies, and give voice to their experiences. For Medea, her appropriation of animal imagery previously associated with another person operates on an even higher metaliterary level. In her case the imagery and companionship of the dragons represent the intersection of public visual art and adopted, personalised iconography as an aspect of building identity. These female appropriations of animal images rather suggest the power of animal imagery to communicate status, achieved as a consequence of friendly association with the powerful or divine, and/or of feats with more wide-ranging and more positive consequences than those of the killing of an animal (prioritizing *pietas* for Hypsipyle or bearing Jupiter's children for Leda[436]). There are exceptions to the killing of animals, of course, and Hercules would not have achieved his fame without having rid the world of monstrous beasts. But the majority of the men who appropriate animal parts (and imagery) as a projection of their political and martial power pay a high price for their pursuits. Some of the art shows human perception and projection of animal meaning at its most clever, but also at its most superficial; in spite of the clear argument for the inherent value of the beast's perspective, humans are cavalier and even frivolous in their subjugation of animals to their own purposes.

Ironically, VF's focus on human power and use of animals in humans' shaping and assertion of their own identity still gives animals the 'last word'. He suggests that the animals, though dead, reclaim their own meaning and power by denying humans success in their appropriations, especially in the cases of Cyzicus and Myraces. Even more, animals become integral to the metapoetic dialogue between not only the texts, but between the incarnations of central characters like Medea. Her use of animal imagery in the present which will only properly belong to her in the future illustrates her

[436]Pp. 216-7. 221-3.

process of 'becoming'. This takes place at the level of the epic's writing by the self-aware poet as well. Medea's drawing attention to her future experience and the future artistic representations of that experience parallel VF's use of the same animal imagery in the metapoetic negotiation of his epic's identity.

Implications & Conclusions.

Within the purview of this study, we have seen how VF considers the animal subjective perspective—especially of the individual—within particular contexts, experiential and relational, and thence adduces the implications for animal life and how human experience in the narrative may be mirrored in or illuminated by it. He also explores, in addition to the shared nature of subjective experience, the literal shared experience of animal-human interactions. Sometimes these experiences are depicted from an objective distance, from the narrator's perspective. The animal also frequently evokes empathy, even sympathy, while the human is accused, albeit subtly. Still, animal-human relationships and experiences which are positive for the animal do exist and are indeed prominent, but are prone to problematization through jointly shared suffering caused by human decision and behaviour. In spite of this, VF develops the confluence of experience, especially when animals and humans are together on the battlefield, and its apparent meaning and impact on both, through asserting similar thought patterns and priorities in the animal and human mind. He also recapitulates events from battle narratives in earlier epics, but recasts animals in roles previously held by humans. In the case of Ariasmenus' cavalry, animals are the focalizers and targets of divine psychological assault. This is more than anthropomorphizing: rather, it is substitution. In spite of VF's often less than ennobling depictions of war, the suffering and deaths, even in meaningless violence, especially of animals are dignified not only by shows of courage, but also by VF's unique depictions of partnerships between them and humans which assert their status as equals in both vulnerability and virtue.

Finally, VF does explore the meaning of animals and their relationships to humans at the symbolic and typological level, and this from the perspective of the humans in the narrative. No doubt something of animal subjectivity—at least in the dynamic between the animal and the human on the epic plane—is lost in human appropriation of animals. This is particularly true when the death and bodies of animals are used primarily for signifying purposes by and for humans—to signify identities, experiences, relationships, and exploits—exclusive of the animal's experience and meaning inherent to itself. VF

challenges this objectification of the animal by the human, however, in reasserting the life and individuality of the animal in the cases of failed appropriations. He also posits the potential for more mutual signifying power in first the separation from violence seen in women's art, and then even more clearly in the identity-shaping partnership between humans and animals in the case of Medea and her gradual adoption of Circe's dragons.

All of these various aspects, taken together and brought to bear on each other, span a spectrum from animals' experience within themselves and their sphere, to the human interpretation and appropriation of animal appearance and behaviour. For the *Arg.*, these Valerian sojourns along the spectrum mean the recasting not only of the humans in their roles in the Flavian version, but also as (literary) humans in light of increased sensitivity to animal experience, including species already familiar from epic and for illustrations of *human* behaviour. VF's 'recuperated' heroes are oddly illustrative in a discourse about animals and the way humans treat them; VF does not represent humans who treat animals as they ought based on the narrator's illustrations of their sentience. Human hunters are carried away in their passion like Cyzicus, or else depersonalised, while the animal quarry are empathetic and individualised; sacrificial victims are shown to suffer and then vanish, their suffering ignored by the human protagonist; dogs and horses in war are bold and loyal, yet as martial instruments suffer brutality at the hands of humans with whom wars originate. All of these arguments, what animals are 'really' like, how humans relate to them, etc., coexist within the epic. While instances of each strand of evidence must be isolated for focused consideration, in the text itself the repeated assertions of the depth of animal experience and perceptiveness collide with humans' lack of empathy with and callousness toward their non-human counterparts. But this is no surprise in a story fraught with ambiguity rooted in divided loyalties, confused purposes, and inconsistent values: Jason and Medea, Jason and heroism, Medea and family, truth and duplicity, divine obfuscation and retribution. With these ever-present tensions between acknowledgement of animal subjectivity and human subjugation of animals, mythical fiction echoes Roman reality in the experience of animals, and their interaction with humans and humans' perception and use of them.

In this way, the *Arg.* reflects VF's contemporary situation in Rome—the uncertainty of stability and the suspect, changeable seat and nature of power, and the application of earlier philosophical considerations with respect to animals, indeed perhaps to all that are vulnerable, animal and human—to epic in a very deliberate way. At the same time, this is how the *Arg.*'s animals reflexively flow back into the tradition as well: VF's

animals, their subjectivity, their experiential proximity to, relationships with, and abuse by humans means more than new similes to describe human heroes' behaviour. It is in fact the counterpart to the socio-political tensions at the narrative level of the text playing out in the uninvestigated, unaddressed (explicitly) power dynamic that exists between all living things, which is implied in the sobering verses from Joel. It means illustrating an unseen or un- or under-acknowledged depth of similarity (and value) across species boundaries, which not only carry implications for the epic world, but would compel a re-articulation of the animal and the relationship between animal and human in the real world as well.

Animals are key components of VF's programme and original shaping of his material, and in his thematic messaging, at multiple levels of discourse: story, generic interactions and intertextuality, and philosophical considerations. The selection of species and interactions, and the breadth and depth of inquiry in each case study, demonstrate the many aspects of animals' importance to the interpretation of the text, the interdependence and relatedness of these aspects, and the shared significance of the different animals used. While adopting perspectives from sundry areas such as intertextuality, narratology, animal studies, and *Arg.*-specific inquiry, joint application of these perspectives yields a holistic analysis of animals and their relationship to humans in the poem. These in turn open avenues for extrapolation about the author's cultural context, for example, and further consideration of animal-human interactions in the present, in light of this analysis' conclusions. This project as a result acts as a participant in a discourse through which Classical studies and animal studies are intersecting more and more, and will encourage the dialogue between animal and Valerian studies in particular. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary approach of this study will ideally prove useful in application to other texts, epic or not, as part of the advancing research on the place and perception of animals in antiquity, both in reality and in literature.

Much remains to be done on animals, and mythical beasts and monsters, and the dynamic between these and humans and the divine, in the *Arg*. itself. What is nevertheless apparent is that VF's representation of animals adds further complexity to an already morally and emotionally complex treatment of a much-treated myth. And perhaps even more than the traditional difficulties of the story—some questionable decisions by Jason, the tension caused by Jason and Medea's future disaster, or by the potentially disruptive presence of characters like Hercules—the strong assertion of

animal subjectivity and similarity between animal and human suffering, juxtaposed with the author's subtle condemnation of the coldness of the human characters toward animals, challenges the reader with an especially stark moral imperative. Jason and Medea and the Minyae are unique to their story, and their ordeals, while representative of some human experience, are not universal. The experiences of the epic's animals, however, point to the universality of certain aspects of the 'human' condition, which at times makes the experience of the hero (like Hercules) common. Yet more than that, VF shows that that condition is also the animal condition, with an attendant obligation on the part of humans to recognize and respond.

Thus the illumination of the animal component leads not only to a better understanding of VF's poetics and an increased literary appreciation, but also to a sense of that ethical imperative resulting from VF's representation of animals and their interactions with humans. This is an imperative which humans, in the exercise of dominion over animals, so often disregard. Yet there is hope. In Joel, the animals, after the passing of God's judgement on humans and the earth, in turn enjoy with them the blessing and benefits of redemption and restoration:

> [21] "Fear not, O land;
> be glad and rejoice,
> for the Lord has done great things!
> [22] Fear not, you beasts of the field,
> for the pastures of the wilderness are green;
> the tree bears its fruit;
> the fig tree and vine give their full yield.
> [23] "Be glad, O children of Zion,
> and rejoice in the Lord your God…
> [26] ...who has dealt wondrously with you.
>
> [Joel 2:21-3a, 26b (ESV)]

This has been a reading of VF, or rather, his animals, that shows how they both fit into and function within his epic, and reflect some themes particular to the *Arg*. and others more characteristic of epic generally, and realities unique to VF's world. The shortcomings and problems in the relationship between human and animal are unique to a given culture and period, as are the means of acknowledging, articulating and addressing those problems. The same is true of the apparent inconsistencies in the Romans' treatment of and attitudes toward animals. Nevertheless, the implications for

personal application for the reader of VF, drawn again and again into empathy with the subjectivized animal, are not contextually bound—they are timeless. The uniqueness of VF's representation of animals raises challenging questions about these dynamics in all periods and contexts, though again, the problems and inconsistencies and the means of resolving them will vary. This uniqueness is characterized by the text's sharply contoured ambivalence on animal-human relationships: VF's text portrays a level of animal subjectivity not seen in epic before, mostly through intertextual negotiation, often beginning with familiar animal passages which he then imbues with original and lifelike notes of emotion, perceptiveness, and individuality. On the one hand, he achieves this in simile, through overt introduction and elaboration of the animal point of view, sometimes via focalization; on the other, in the action he casts several different animals in previously human roles, where their behaviour illustrates their participation in relationships and communal experience. This subjectivity backgrounds the contrast between predation and partnership, in which VF repeatedly undermines the dominion of human over animal in his characterization of those who kill or irreverently appropriate animals. This undermining current contrasts strongly with the mutual affection and honour seen in battlefield animal-human friendships. Many of the animal species and the events in which they participate are familiar from epic before VF. But VF makes these events, the animals' experience, their own. And in the context where animal-human relationships are most crucial, on the battlefield, he has done something remarkable and new: by overtly aligning the animal-human bond with the bond of brothers, he has made the human and animal warriors equal in their partnership, courage, and suffering.

Animals, as if teaching tools or even teachers, partake in the text's power to convict and make demands on the reader, not only with regard to his or her fellow humans, but to animals as well. Indeed, the human responsibility for animal suffering highlighted in VF's text implies a correlative responsibility for animal welfare. As this study of animals in the *Arg*. comes to a close, the investigation into the ethical and moral implications of this dynamic and compelling aspect of VF's art, and its counterpart texts, has just begun.

Appendix A. Further Case Studies & Commentary.

1. A Note on the Venus-Medea/Daedalus-Icarus Comparison, continued from 2.a.ii.

Unlike in the case of the halcyon/Hercules comparison, the analogy between the mother-nestlings group and Venus and Medea would seem to break down almost immediately. The reason for this is two-fold. Firstly, the Ovidian parallel does not hold up even in the model texts. Daedalus and Icarus are conspicuously not birds, and their artificial wings bring Icarus to a shocking death and leave Daedalus bereft. This suggests failure of the enterprise in each epic from the outset. Secondly, the relationships are not properly aligned. The relationship of the Valerian simile birds does not mirror that between the leader and led in the human/divine narrative. This 'Circe' is not Medea's aunt, nor even a mother figure (7.242, 248). And in contrast to the real affection of Daedalus for his son, Venus' kisses had earlier acted as poison on Medea (7.254-5). In the escape of Daedalus and Icarus, the latter is distracted and does not heed his father's warnings. In VF, the mother figure leading Medea cannot really be trusted.

Nevertheless, VF has presented the birds and the scenario, and in spite of the apparent weaknesses in the comparison, the image does serve both to reflect and shed light on Medea's internal battle. VF's expansion of the simile also shows how an appeal to the story of Daedalus and Icarus can characterize Medea's 'escape' from her father (echoing Daedalus' and Icarus' escape from Minos) as a move of self-empowerment rather than self-destruction. The perspective of the young person, in the Ovidian text through Icarus' eyes, is shown through the chicks' in VF, and begins to push the parent's (and therefore Venus') initiative into the background. The focus of the action, even internal action, suggests that Medea is stepping across the threshold into the next stage of her mythological maturation. The risk and inner battle involved in Medea's departure, however, fundamentally the trigger for the simile, are left behind due to the immersive quality of the imagery.

2. The Bereft Tigress Motif

The bereft tigress, probably inspired by contemporary descriptions of tiger-cub hunts, is used twice by VF. Once, in Book 1, the mother robbed of her cubs obliquely corresponds to Pelias. The second appearance is in the catalogue of the eastern tribes in Colchis in Book 6, where VF describes the tiger-hunting practices of the Exomatae.

The tigress in VF, unlike the lion, is one-dimensional, representing dangerous maternal instinct. She is new to epic, and thus not yet familiar or developed enough to be typed, patterned, or played upon. Still, there is something significant in VF's choice to feature her twice, perhaps also significant because of the inclusion of her counterpart, the bereft lioness. The specificity allowed by the introduction of a feminine form for lioness in Greek, as in Latin, made available to post-Homeric authors the option of deliberately likening their characters, even the male heroes, to male or female big cats. And though Pelias 'is' a tigress in Book 1, and Hercules a lioness in Book 3, there is critical precedent for considering the two species in tandem. The emphasis on the maternal instinct and the potential threat of the big cat dam would soon be part-and-parcel of the imagery of Roman poetic repertoire, and it is VF's individual representation of the feline mother within what would become a generic trend, and how it serves his poetics, that supplements the sections on the lion/ess.[437] Though the main actor in the first simile is the human hunter rather than the bereft mother, she and her counterpart tigress in a passage in Book 6 will be used as a starting point, an introduction to the 'standard' use of the motif, from which may have proceeded VF's much more developed portrait of the mourning lioness in Book 3.

The motif first appears in VF's non-Apollonian sub-plot of Jason's recruitment of his young cousin Acastus as a means of punishing Pelias:[438]

> …haut aliter saltus vastataque pernix
> venator quam lustra fugit dominoque timentem 490
> urget equum, teneras complexus pectore tigres,
> quas astu rapuit pavido, dum saeva relictis
> mater in averso catulis venatur Amano.
>
> …Not otherwise [when/as] the swift hunter flees the woods and
> the despoiled den and urges on his horse, fearing for its master, 490
> [the hunter] clasping the tiger cubs to his breast,
> which he snatched with frightened cunning, while the savage mother,
> her young left behind, hunts on the other side of Amanus. [1.489-93][439]

[437]Hawtree (2011) 46; "The simile vehicle of the lioness or tigress robbed of her cubs…enjoys a vogue with Roman poets," Zissos (2008) 300; Hawtree (2011) 7. On the two species together, Wijsman (1996) 73-4; Fucecchi (2006) 184.
[438]Cf. AR 1.321-3; see Castelletti (2014) 176-7 on this point; also Gärtner (1994) 74.

This simile, VF's first animal simile and one of his most complex, has generated plenty of critical discussion.[440] Because there is such diversity of opinion on the influence of Pliny here, it may be more helpful to consider VF's own descriptive passage of a tiger-hunt, and, regarding it either as a variation on Pliny's treatment, or his original representation of such a hunt, to treat it as a pictorial model for the mounted hunter simile in 1.489ff. The Exomatae, allies of Perses,

> abeunt Hypanin fragilemque per undam
> tigridis aut saevae profugi cum prole leaenae,
> maestaque suspectae mater stupet aggere ripae.
>
> …go out through Hypanis and [its] fragile current
> in flight with the offspring of the tigress or the savage lioness,
> and the grieving mother stands stunned on the mound of the deceitful bank.
>
> [6. 147b-49][441]

In the Book 1 passage, VF plays on geographical expectations, which serves to contrast the behaviour of the hunter with that of the tigress.[442] The (adult) big cat is kept in the periphery of the scene, while the fear of retaliation from the unseen tigress is the focus, and the main link to the outside text: with Acastus on board, Jason cuts the cable in haste before Pelias discovers his son is missing. Jason is unquestionably responsible for Acastus' presence on the *Argo,* and the simile seems to imply that his power of suggestion constitutes kidnapping, even with Jove's presumed assent, which Jason read in the snatching of the lamb by the eagle at 1.156-60.[443] The tiger, a terrifying wild animal, is of course a fitting parallel for an enemy, but the mother tigress is much more than that, and her (non)appearance here signals more than mere ferocity of reaction—there are in fact moral implications brought to the fore by this deliberate inclusion of a

[439]On this passage, see Gärtner (1994) 70-4; Kleywegt (2005) 282-6; Zissos (2008) 300-1; Fucecchi (2006) 185; Spaltenstein (2002) 203-6; Wijsman (1996) 73.
[440]The predominant reading is that Jason is being compared to the robbing hunter, Acastus to the cubs, and Pelias, by relationship, to the absent tigress. There is, however, an alternate interpretation offered by Walter (described and then countered in Gärtner [1994] 71-2) which parallels *Acastus* with the hunter. On the influence of Pliny *Nat*. 8.25(66) see Zissos (2008) 300, Spaltenstein (2005) 205. Kleywegt (2005) 284-5 dissents.
[441]On this passage, see Baier (2001) 155-6; Fucecchi (2006) 183-5; Spaltenstein (2005) 48-9; Wijsman (1996) 73-4; Hawtree (2011) 107-8..
[442]For Amanus vs. Hyrcanus, Zissos (2008) 301. See also Wijsman (1996) 74 and Baier (2001) 155-6 on the geographical feature of water. For the prevalence of the tigress in poetry, Hawtree (2011) 102ff., esp. 105-6.

named species.

Indeed, the later text about the Exomatae cub-hunters maps the significance of the tigress back onto the first tigress, and, though she is absent, connotes all the traditional traits associated with the robbed mother. She is aggressive, angry, dangerously swift, relentless and capable of exacting revenge once the 'deception' has been uncovered. The animal in the Exomatae passage, however, cuts a pathetic figure, as her inability to pursue, her proverbial speed and tenacity useless against the current dividing her from her stolen young. Here the emphasis is on the evident victory of the Exomatae hunters over the animal, whose reputation was already well established in Roman literature, if not in epic.[444]

In looking back to the Book 1 passage, the tone and emotional emphasis suggest the opposite. The tigress may yet arrive in time to punish the hunter, and the hunter fears this even as he snatches the cubs. At the same time, this connection invites the reader to see the theft from the mother's perspective. The sympathy with her, due to the unclear characterization of the hunter, as well as to the inherent link with the descriptive passage in Book 6, and even the plight of Hercules' lioness below, complicates the interpretation of the motif and the circumstance to which it is compared.[445] The specification of the tigress, an exemplary parent with a 'sense of justice' tilts the reading of the event in favour of Pelias, and casts aspersion not only on Jason's motive (made clear at 1.149-55), but also on his courage and integrity—a subtle doubt revisited in the lion's bloodbath simile in Book 6.[446] While at first glance, Jupiter's supposed nod and Pelias' scheming provide ample justification or excuse for Jason's winsome approach to Acastus, VF's frightened hunter and soon-to-be grieving, furious tigress challenge the heroic value of Jason's act. Of course, it is doubtful whether Jupiter himself has blessed Jason's plan in the first place, as Jason assumed in his reading of the eagle/lamb 'omen', never confirmed as such by the narrator. As with VF's marauding lion, the tigress' portrait contains nuances which are unexpectedly destabilising: but here a cat even more savage than the lion, significantly, aligned with the enemy of the protagonist, actually

[443] 'Jason emporte Acaste comme un chasseur sa proie, et tous deux craignent la colère d'un parent,' Spalt. (2005) 205. Cf., however, Kleywegt's (2005) assertion that the simile is a poor parallel because Acastus joins the quest willingly, 283. The moral ambiguity created by the differing perspectives of interested family members on the same event (such as the flight of Medea) is one of the main sources of tension in the epic. Baier (2001) 155; Wijsman (1996) 74, Hawtree (2011) 107; Gärtner (1994) points out that in this way it is not really a hunt, but a trick.

[444] Hawtree (2011) 108-12.

[445] Note also the dubiousness of other hunts in the *Arg. d*iscussed in 3.a.ii.

[446] Hawtree (2011) 107. See also 2.a. above. The ambiguity colours not only Jason's 'snatching' of Acastus but also Pelias' retaliation.

invites sympathy with the former, and consequential questioning of the hero's choice. An animal both dangerous and sympathetic, it turns out, is a useful analogue for complicating depictions not only of heroes, but villains as well.[447] The big cat again represents not only experiential but also moral ambiguity.

3. Canthus: Locality & Destiny

Animals in the ekphrasis of the arms of Phalerus' comrade Canthus emphasize the latter's origins, not only parental, but also of locale. And in contrast to Phalerus' shield, Canthus' father is not featured on the object, but is part of the shield's biography:[448]

> ...at interea clari decus adiacet orbis,
> quem genitor gestabat Abas; secat aurea fluctu
> tegmina Chalcidicas fugiens Euripus harenas,
> celsaque semiferum contorquens frena luporum
> surgis ab ostrifero medius, Neptune, Geraesto.
>
> But for now the splendour of a brilliant shield is at hand,
> which his father Abas used to carry; Euripus cuts through the golden
> surface with its stream, fleeing Chalcidian sands,
> and turning the lofty reins of your half-beast wolves,
> in the middle you, Neptune, rise up from oyster-rich Geraestus. [1.452b-6]

The illusion of movement permeates the ekphrasis from *secat* and throughout the passage. There is an acknowledgement of artifice in *aurea*, but nevertheless the river Euripus moves both in relation to the object itself, in the idea of cutting or dividing the surface, and in relation to its portrayed surroundings. *Fugiens Chalcidicas harenas* evokes the visual and perhaps the audible features of running water. The landscape is striking, but VF also uses it to distract, for this grand view is abruptly broken by the detail of the mythical *semiferum*, which is no doubt what a physical viewer would notice first, only taking in the landscape as background afterwards. The effect is that the composition of the image is not entirely clear. VF layers the complexity further by delaying completion of *semiferum* with *luporum* at the end of line 455, finally naming

[447]See Cowan (2014) esp. 230-1.
[448]My thanks to Fiachra Mac Góráin for a very helpful discussion on this passage.

the beasts' master in a separate line, nearly the last word in the whole ekphrasis.

The visual details of the named landscape, and movement on the shield render this image more vivid than the almost still-frame of the encounter with the snake pictured on Phalerus' arms. The link to the bearer's familial heritage is not necessarily proclaimed by the art on the shield itself, and must be filled in by the narrator. This note about how Canthus came to have his shield serves two purposes, not only to assert a paternity unique to VF—that Canthus is the son of Abas rather than his grandson—but also to link an Argonaut once again to objects in the *Aeneid* For Aeneas hangs a brass shield, spoils from the Greeks, of one Abas as a dedication at the entrance to a shrine of Apollo in *Aen*. 2.286-8. In a sense, the prediction of Canthus' death is an ironic pre-fulfilment of Aeneas' inscription about the spoils taken from the Greeks who are nevertheless the victors. Canthus himself will become spoils, part of the cost of a war that the Minyae will help to win. Canthus, however, does not know this, and his messaging through his shield is meant to communicate his identity and avowed future success. In his declaration through the object, the shield shows geographical origin with some grandeur, and invokes Neptune and the benefits of the sea and its bounty in the detail *ostrifero.* The centrality of Neptune, *medius*, however, and the prominence of his animals, assured by the narrator who places them before the god in the text and which are also moving, may have a connection to Canthus' foretold doom (1.450-2a).

Again, the art on the object does not show Abas himself, but VF's naming of him and alteration of the genealogy compel a glance back at both AR and Virgil. The reference to Aeneas' dedication in the reworked proximity of Abas to Canthus further invites a reading of the shield's imagery in light of the more general aspects of the *Aeneid.* Of course, Neptune's attitude toward Aeneas and the Trojans is mainly positive; in contrast the evocation of Neptune by one of the Minyae at the opening of the *Arg*. is necessarily fraught with ambiguity. The literary influences in VF's overall depiction of Canthus are not however limited to AR and Virgil. The battle over Canthus' body in the Colchian civil is, like so much of Book 6, strikingly Homeric, ironically providing Iliadic heroes a template in Telamon and Menoetius.[449] But the portrayal of Canthus even at this early stage is also layered with Iliadic echoes, both in the note of his future death far from home, and the imagery on his shield. The imaging of Neptune here, and later in Jason's prayer at 1.678-80, is influenced by a verbal 'code model' at *Il*.

[449]Canthus' death in battle in Colchis, rather than in Libya, as predicted in his catalogue entry in AR 1.77-80, is a characteristically Valerian 'militarizing touch', Zissos (2008) 285. See the discussion of the fight for Canthus' corpse in 2.a.i. above.

13.23-31.[450] Furthermore, the shield acts as a companion object to his pre-obituary, in which the Homeric motifs of rolling in dust and death while separated from his family and homeland, characterize his doom in advance of battle.[451] The description of the death of a character within his catalogue reference, long before battle is engaged, echoes the entry for Protesilaus in *Il.* 2.698-709.

The homeland which Canthus is forever leaving behind is beautifully emblazoned on his shield, and this and the revised biography of the shield heighten the pathos and pave the way for the revisiting of Homeric imagery and language in Canthus' death and the fight of his comrades to retain his body for burial.[452] Canthus may well be a 'minor warrior who exist[s] to be killed,' giving other Minyae something to fight for.[453] But several books before his death, the advance notice of his mode of death on foreign soil, as he takes the image of his home with him and shows it to the enemy, imbues his assertion of heritage and heroism with pathos. It is within this context that the animals on the shield—as part of the retinue of Neptune and counterpart to the landscape—are operating.

On the one hand, VF's choice of sea-wolves rather than sea-horses (which is what Jason envisions in 1.678-80), more prevalent in literature, evokes for the reader images of sea-wolves common in art of the Flavian period.[454] The process of visualization of the animal is thus directed very specifically by the narrator, and the particular animal form creates a point of contact between Canthus' shield and Flavian readers' experience of the art of their own world. It also, on the other hand, suggests a violent or dangerous aspect to Neptune that is not suggested by images of hippocampi, which are divine mythical creatures that have no predator components. The beauty and warmth of the depiction of Poseidon's relationship with his horses in *Iliad* 13 is arguably not evoked here. The aesthetic has changed in the substitution of species, and so has the psychological effect of that change. The intended response from Canthus' enemies on the narrative level is admiration of the beauty of the topography depicted on the shield, and awe inspired by the majestic and menacing depiction of the god with whom the bearer has evidently associated himself. The reader-as-viewer, however, cannot be

[450]Zissos (2008) 287, 362; the Iliadic passage on Poseidon readying and driving his horses is also echoed in *Aen.* 1.155-6, 5.817-26.
[451]On the *pathos* elicited by the motif of death 'far from home' as a component of Iliadic obituaries, see Griffin (1980) 106-8.
[452]The death of Protesilaus is also 'revisited' to great pathetic effect in *Il.* 15.705, when Hector sets fire to his ships, Griffin (1980) 109.
[453]Griffin (1980) 103.
[454]Zissos (2008) 287; Mozley (1936) 36 n.2.

expected to share the latter response, having already brought the intertextual references and the Argonautic context to bear on the interpretation of the ekphrasis. Indeed, the new imagery of the hybrid is reminiscent not of another shield, but of Turnus' helmet which features the chimaera. Canthus' adoption of a creature both ambiguous in form and meaning suggests disorder rather than clarity, and of course, Turnus is a victim of his own aggression.[455] Canthus is already predicted to die, and Neptune himself is at best a shadowy figure, a god whose attitude toward the boundary-breaking Minyae is likely to be anything but friendly. Any suspicion on the part of the reader of such an assertion of Neptune-as-friendly-associate is proven legitimate over the course of the narrative: Neptune's antipathy toward the Minyae is explicit at 1.642b-50. Furthermore, Neptune himself comes to be marginalised again and again throughout as Jupiter's *Weltenplan* unfolds, and those associated with him—for example, his son Amycus—do not reap any benefit from that association. Both the aggressive, hostile, and new-to-epic imagery of the sea-wolves, and Neptune's position of both resentment toward the *Argo* and apparent weakness, actually prove apt evocateurs of, rather than counters to, the foreboding first introduced by the declaration of Canthus' fated death in Colchis.

The shield as object for communication on several levels reveals the complexity of the heroic experience, particularly when the hero's object illustrates the gap between his proclaimed identity and his ignorance. Canthus' adopted device is singular in its featured animal, the sea-wolf, yet the type of animal itself—presumably chosen as part of his messaging about his prowess—heightens the irony of his adopted associations both in light of the main enterprise's conflict with the god of the sea. These very monsters would probably be sent against the Minyae if Neptune had the power to do so, and in light of Canthus' own fate. In Canthus' adoption of animal imagery, which in this case could indicate danger to either the bearer's opponent or the bearer himself, VF uses presumption about the effectiveness and implications of symbol to illustrate the very tentative power of the claimer of that symbol over its truth value, in this case mirroring the uncertain position of the human in relation to the gods and future events. Canthus has claimed the sea-wolf as an animal special to himself, emblematic of the aggressive side of Neptune's nature. But in reality the danger illustrated by the image in order to evoke an emotional response in his viewers is bent backward upon the object-bearer. The meaning of the hero's object here is bound up in his death, rather than in his

[455]On the chimaera as a symbol of chaos, and its implicit contrast to the image of the victimized Io on Turnus' shield, adding to the overarching moral ambiguity of Turnus' position and the tenor of the *Aen*., see Gale (1997) 185-7.

victory.

The shield's imagery communicates successfully in the case of Phalerus, where the background is somewhat complex, and VF's description is compact. Canthus' more unique species at Neptune's yoke, and the narrator's structuring of the ekphrasis, suggests the additional power of an animal type in a certain context to help create, continue, or project mood. The ekphrases provided in the Book 1 catalogue for relatively obscure characters allow visual art—and the animals, represented alive and acting—to allude to what VF then does not narrate. Instead, he describes Phalerus and Canthus in the mode in which they present themselves, through descriptions not of their respective stories, but of their arms. The animal imagery in each, however, serves a different purpose in messaging: Phalerus' image both inspires dread of the moment portrayed and emphasizes the past achievement of father and son, and prefigures future events in the epic tradition. Canthus' intent is to declare his origins and an association with Neptune, whose entourage is fronted by animals no doubt meant to intimidate enemies who would look upon it. But the vanity of this association—and the vivid evocation of the wild, frightening animal type—underscores the dark reality of his future, death in a far-away land, falling in dust and thus figuratively further separated from Neptune's realm and the victim of rather than the victor in aggression. Both the snake and sea-wolves are privileged by the narrator through the way each ekphrasis is organized, the former shown in a position of strength, the second envisioned before even their master Neptune. One overtly symbolises the confrontation between animal and human, while the other is an appropriation for threatening violence against other humans. Ironically, the animal symbol of that threat proves the potential confusion once again resulting from the adoption of ambiguous animal images, the meaning of which for Canthus is finally determined by the human owner's demise, independent of his original intent.

Appendix B. Author's Overview of Selected Ancient Literary Sources on Animals.

The following sections are an informal summary of content of Classical sources on animals, in which I also include my own appraisals and impressions of that content. I consulted these texts without reference to secondary literature.

ARISTOTLE: *Historia Animalium*, books 8 & 9. (trans. Creswell)

- Aristotle often anthropomorphizes animals by ascribing 'personal' and/or 'moral' characteristics, even 'rational consciousness' to some species, 8.1.1.; he also asserts that more intelligent animals with superior memories are more attentive to their young—they 'use [them] in a more civilized manner', 8.1.4.
- He also offers interpretative arguments: what is natural is pleasant, and 'animals follow that which is pleasant to their nature.' Along with his observations, he assumes causes of and reasons for habits and behaviour: for example, he makes connections between animals' anatomy/physiology and their eating habits/diet (8.7.1).
- He includes notes of subjective judgment, such as assessments of animal intelligence, and beyond detailed physical descriptions, he often gives an aesthetic appraisal, especially of birds' plumage, 8.14.6 (also found in 9.16.1-3).
- He sometimes appears to extrapolate, asserting that two very different species which share at least one significant feature may therefore share another: for example, he says that alcohol affects parrots like it does man. My question: is this actually true, or believable because of what parrots and humans already have in common, since some species can learn or mimic human speech?
- Aristotle could perhaps be said to show interest in animal well-being, evident in his pointer about sparing a bee by pressing out its stinger even after it has stung a human, 27.17.
- He notes some human/domestic animal interactions, such as treating an ox's hooves to protect its horns (8.9). 8.21 deals with several domesticated quadrupeds and discusses their various ailments and feeding. He cites information from experts: both horses and sheep are said by those experts to suffer from human illnesses, perhaps due to proximity—this proximity to humans is thus not to the animals' advantage (note also the blinding of decoy birds at 9.9.4).
- He readily admits the differences in easy observation of fish and land/air animals;

obviously the sea is not as accessible. Knowledge of several species is due to those whose livelihood depends on familiarity with their movement and behaviour: what's known about fish migration (and fish health) is mostly known by fishermen's takings at different times of year, e.g., 8.15.5; his notes on fowlers also seem to indicate that it is fowlers' experience with and observation of their targets that is the origin of much of this information, as in 8.14.6. He describes not only fish migration, life-cycles and habits, but also when they taste best, 8.17.2.

- Aristotle does want to distinguish between fact and fiction—8.14.2 v 8.14.5. For example, he discounts 'fables' about the *hippomanes*, 8.23.5, but says that horses have keen emotional memory, remembering the 'voices' of any animals with which they have fought, 8.23.6.
- As noted above, he cites those who have greater experience with certain species than he does himself (such as professional beekeepers, 9.27.19). He cites Homer as an authority on lion-human interactions and lion nobility at 9.31.2. In other cases, he includes arguments from other authors while noting his own doubt about their credibility, as with Ctesias in 8.27.3. At other times he offers correction of popular opinion, as on the migration of birds, 8.18.1, or very direct correction of earlier authors, like Hesiod on an eagle drinking (here Aristotle does not allow for supernatural event), 8.20.2.
- He emphasizes the links between animal behaviour and conformation with their environment: patterns of movement & migration are predictable from constellations, weather, winds, moon, with the influence of the dog-star often noted, 8.17.4, 8.20.8, 8.20.12
- He recognizes the influence of climate on variable size of same species in different locales (I note that this is the case with cougars and white-tail deer in North America, which tend to be smaller in southern states), 8.27.5-6, and terrain in 8.28.1, with regional identities summarized in 8.27.7.
- In book 9, he focuses more on human-animal interactions and animal-animal interactions, noting traditional enmities and friendships across species, and how animals of the same species relate to one another. He even offers evaluations of their natural virtue, such as the 'prudence' of deer (9.6.1) and cranes (9.11), the cleverness of partridges (9.9.4), various 'good' and 'bad' eagles, (9.22.2), the work ethic of bees (9.27.23) and the 'slavish', lazy nature of the bittern (9.17.1—this observation is noteworthy because it shows a stereotypical human caricature applied to a bird!).

Human behaviour/nature is the template for that of animals (9.1.1-4).

- He argues that humans learn from animals (9.2.3) and vice versa, and judges those animals which 'emulate' humans to be more intelligent (9.8.1).
- Aristotle includes a reason for the distinction of the eagle as a divine bird, i.e., their pattern of flight and view of the earth, 9.22.6. Cf. Pliny, who says that it the eagle is believed to be divine because it is the only bird that has not been struck by lightning, *NH* 10.4.
- He notes several positive (especially social) characteristics of animals which are both social and highly intelligent: elephants (9.33) and dolphins, and their interactions with each other and with humans (9.35). He also relates the stories of quadrupeds which were fooled into committing incest, and in their moral indignation after discovering the truth killed either their human handlers or themselves (9.34).
- Aristotle closes book 9 with the argument that disposition and behaviour are intimately connected and consistent with each other; if one is changed, proportional changes in the other will follow, 9.36.

VARRO: *On Roman Farm Management,* books 2 & 3. (trans. Harrison)

Even more than Pliny, Varro's discussion of domesticated animals also entails a discussion of (agri)cultural and social history. In his introduction to Book 2, he asserts that the reversion of previously tilled land to pasture is representative of the regression or even decline of Roman civilization. Furthermore, at the beginning of Book 3, not only does Varro discuss the inferiority of the new to the old, but also the interlocutors of the dialogue argue the proper definition of a villa, and compare the merits of a country villa with a working farm to those of a villa in town.

The instructions for the keeping of the various types of livestock are all directed toward increasing a farm's profitability and that of the animals on it. This is, however, long-term profitability of animals, and the speakers' advice actually indicates fairly high standards of animal welfare. Proper feeding, bedding, and stable design, and ensuring of cleanliness, pest control, and safety of the animals are all emphasized and described in great detail. Oxen are described quite sympathetically, even held in high esteem, dubbed the 'companion and fellow labourer of man and minister of Ceres', 2.5.

Nevertheless, there is one point of instruction which strike me as brutal—that of culling litters of puppies. Those which the breeder believes will make the best guard dogs for flocks are kept, while the others are 'destroyed', so that the choice puppies get

a greater share of their mother's milk. In this case, profitability means ensuring the welfare of some animals at the expense of their siblings. Of course, these dogs are not pets; they are elsewhere described as 'instruments'. Since their purpose is wholly utilitarian, absence of sentimentality about those deemed unable to do the work adequately is indeed logical pragmatism, though I find it surprisingly cold.

The treatise offers additional unexpected insights on animal husbandry, such as the typical formula involved in an animal purchase agreement, which varies according to species. The required expertise also ranges from animal behaviour and standard care-taking, to acting as the first line of defence against a wide range of species-specific ailments. All 'flock masters' are encouraged not only to know their respective species well, but also to carry with them written descriptions of symptoms of illnesses and treatments, as the flock masters should be equipped to begin treatment of their animals before resorting to summoning a veterinarian (having their own copies of relevant medical treatises implies that the flock masters are literate, which Varro later explicitly recommends).

In discussion of each species, there is a noteworthy remark on the significance of colour—cf. Aristotle 8.28.1; in the case of cattle, there is a somewhat mysterious disjunction in the 'best' colours for work or breeding, and those which make an animal appropriate for sacrifice (e.g., bulls—when white, they are considered least desirable for work, but prime candidates for the altar).

It should also be noted that Varro breaks up his discussion of aviaries into two sections: aviaries for profit *and* for pleasure. There is even the possibility of combining the two, as does the specially designed dining room-aviary described 3.4, where the diners may both feast on birds and enjoy watching and admiring them in flight—though in the end the smell was not enjoyable. The aviary designed by Varro for pleasure is described at length in 3.4b, and certain ornaments and design features are included, naturally, for the comfort of the birds. It is thoughtfully laid out, with both elegant architecture and use of natural features to create a landscape garden. Varro notes that its inhabitants are mostly songbirds, though there is also docking for ducks, and fish in the ponds and stream. Proper care of the birds (termed *convivae*) requires a boy whose full-time job is to turn watering/feeding wheel. A great deal of planning and money has been invested to create a home for animals whose sole purpose on the farm stead is to be admired and enjoyed by their human 'host'.[456]

[456]See page 22 n.27 of the General Introduction for the political and allegorical significance of Varro's

PLINY the ELDER, *Naturalis Historia,* books 8-11. (trans. Bostock & Riley)

Pliny often notes relationship between species, and in general says much more than Aristotle about animals' relationship to humans; also includes much more on animal behaviour, particularly (sometimes anthropomorphic) motivations. For example, he ascribes human motives and characteristics to certain species, especially of birds, like the partridge; also ascribes 'spitefulness' to the lynx.

He notes not only whether certain species are eaten by man, but how they are caught, prepared, and preserved; he also traces origins of dyes and fabrics, and thus the development of certain garments. Due to these connections, Pliny incidentally provides some cultural history of textiles and culinary practices, also legal points related thereto. Where possible he includes a history of the introduction of individual exotic species to Rome; he therefore demonstrates interest in the relationship between natural history and national history. The result is an illustration of human ingenuity, and the range of impact on human culture of discovery and use of new animal species.

There is an occasional note on the intersection of 'religion' and 'science', such as in the case of haruspices finding no hearts in their sacrificed subjects: Pliny records their and other observers' consideration of possible explanations for what happened to the animals' hearts.

Often Pliny follows Aristotle on things which he hasn't observed himself, but not uncritically, as he reasons by extrapolation/analogy that Aristotle's argument about lungs, for example, is not valid. He reports many beliefs and traditions, often without commentary; but sometimes he is quite subjective/personal in his discounting of what he considers fabulous or unfounded. He is also much more personal and expressive, than, say, Aristotle, in his admiration of certain remarkable species, of their intelligence, social structure, beauty, etc. The more frequent subjectivity of his tone and content may indicate that he is more sympathetic to folklore and popular beliefs about animals than, say, Aristotle.

Pliny shows a recognition of natural differences between wild species: amiability of lions v. tigers, which indicates some humans' long-term interaction with both types of big cat. Through somewhat dubious proofs, he asserts a special level of self-awareness in dolphins. (Nevertheless recent behavioural experiments with dolphins in the 20th and 21st century have borne out and provided a scientific basis for this claim.)

He elaborates on the capacity of large wild predators to develop relationships with

---

aviary.

humans; e.g., he reports several stories about big cats in need of aid from humans, which then show appreciation afterwards. When discussing which animals can learn, be tamed, and trained, he notes that lions can be yoked and harnessed, apparently as an example of a human-animal interactive achievement—yet he criticizes Marc Antony for doing so; context matters. Yoking lions is a marvellous thing, but pretensions to deity are not.

Pliny refers readers to other authorities on particular subjects, like bees. While he sometimes contradicts previous authors' assertions based on his or others' contemporary observation, he nevertheless makes false claims that in his own time should have been easy to verify and correct, such as male and female humans having differing numbers of teeth (even if the average person did not keep a full set for long). This may be another example of his interest in, and humouring of, anecdotal reports and popular (mis)conceptions.

In addition, Pliny exhibits an understandable lack of knowledge about behaviour of certain animals in the wild. E.g., he states that bees and ants are unique in that they are the only species besides humans to pay respects to/bury their dead; elephants in the wild also appear to do this. As Pliny is not aware of it, though he does know a great deal about them, it would seem this particular behaviour was or is not readily observable among elephants in captivity.

PLUTARCH: *De Sollertia Animalium.* (1957 Loeb edition)

The main interlocutor in this dialogue attempts to demonstrate that marine animals are more intelligent and more admirable than their terrestrial counterparts. They not only exhibit greater awareness of themselves and their environment, but also greater courage, stronger social ties and obligations, and altruism. Every noteworthy species on land has a superior analogue in the sea, so the essay is instructive in that it showcases the parallels ancient observers drew between land and sea (e.g., hedgehogs and sea-hedgehogs and how they both indicate or respond to changes in the wind, 12.979b). It also offers insight into ancient interpretation of animal behaviour, although the arguments that give more credit to marine than to terrestrial animals for their natural habits are not always clear or compelling (e.g., the octopus' use of his camouflage is self-aware and deliberate, while the chameleon's is involuntary and due to its cowardice, 12.978e-979). Oddly enough the halcyon is here considered a marine animal. In the 21st century, a bird nesting on the sea (which apparently most species of

kingfishers and halcyons do not do) is much more likely to be described as a coastal bird, with the second term indicating a much larger gap between itself and fish and marine invertebrates, which Pliny's word choice does not necessarily imply. This is interesting for its marked contrast from contemporary patterns of classification. Finally, Pliny also notes the halcyon's myriad noble qualities, particularly those of the female, 982e.ff.

PLUTARCH: *Gryllus (bruta animalia ratione uti).* (1957 Loeb edition)

The dialogue between Odysseus and Gryllus is most interesting because of praise of non-human animals' consistent living 'in accordance with nature', doing nothing to excess. Male and female of animal species demonstrate equal valour, in contrast to humans—Penelope is not described with any amount of sympathy, 12.987f-988b (this is followed by a definition of courage—Gryllus says it's not for nothing that warriors in poetry are praised with animal epithets and similes, 988d). Not only is animal culture healthier: Gryllus makes the point that animals eat what their bodies are suited for, while humans indulge in gluttony and eat any number of things which disagree with them, 991c-d; but it is also much more pragmatic: animals do not waste their time on what Gryllus calls 'pointless arts', 991e. Most significant are the passages which look at human-animal relationships with a critical eye and from an animal's perspective: the taming of animals is a debasement, which is why humans must raise them and entice them from their infancy, while the noble adults would rather die than submit to slavery, 987e. Gryllus also speaks candidly about the subjection of animals to human lust, using the terms βιάζονται and παρανομοῦσιν, 991a. There is also an interesting discussion of what we might now term 'instinct' at 991f-992c—Gryllus terms it 'native virtue' (κατὰ φύσιν ἀρετή)--which also takes into account animal parents teaching their young.

AESOP'S FABLES. (1998 Penguin Edition)

The introduction to this edition is very helpful in explaining how and why the fables were preserved, mostly as tools for orators and teachers of rhetoric: snappy, short stories with a simple point, but made with usually striking and even graphic illustrations.

The most common animals in the fables are dogs, foxes, and lions, with more than twenty appearances of each in the 360 fables. Markedly less common are wolves (about

15 appearances), and other domesticated animals even less, with fewer than ten (featured) appearances of sheep, horses, camels, goats and cattle. It would thus seem that it is not human familiarity with certain animals that make them well-suited for such tales—it seems rather that animals which are universally ascribed certain prominent, relevant characteristics are used. Lions are powerful, brave, and regal; foxes (probably originally jackals) are clever, informed, deceptive, and resourceful; dogs are not original thinkers, but are loyal and dependable, and in multiple fables are useful for illustrating innate differences in disposition when presented as a foil to, for example, wolves.

Birds are also common, with birds of prey and jackdaws remarkably prominent; some more exotic birds appear from time to time, like parrots and the halcyon. Fish and whales feature in a few fables, mostly to contrast greatness with smallness, or to ridicule a small creature's disproportionate sense of self-importance. Some more off-the-wall fables feature bugs—like scarabs, dung beetles and gnats—and crabs, mice, frogs, and bats.

The majority of human actors in the fables are farm workers, usually shepherds or ploughmen. There are a few horse and soldier fables, and some about fowlers, where, interestingly enough, the snarer is himself ensnared by an unexpected, usually smaller, animal (like fable 137, The Bird-catcher and the Asp).

The fables' purposes and lessons span a wide range of themes, from *aitia*, to morals about divine justice; behaving and limiting ambition according to one's nature; strength succumbing to illness, old age, or the unexpected; character traits required for kingship and greatness; foolish pretensions; the consequences of involving oneself in others' business; treachery; rewards for telling the truth; recognizing the suffering of others; the danger in a bad reputation; dying happily; the relationship between appearance and reality; willingness to learn and adapt; national identity. Most significantly, some fables invite the reader to see the world from animals' point of view. Two prime examples are 127, where the impact of the sun on the landscape is seen from frog-level, and 321, where the shearer's lack of skill is commented on by the victim of his haplessness, the ruffled, annoyed sheep.

Certain more interesting fables feature animals acting contrary to their typical representation, like in 276, where it is the ass (elsewhere lazy, stubborn, and stupid), rather than the dog, who can read. In other cases, the animal actors behave in step with popular belief, such as the partridge practicing 'deceit' on the human in 300, and the depiction of certain mysteries of animal make-up fit the suppositions prominent in

ancient zoological writings, e.g. the hyena's bisexuality/alternating sexuality in fable 340.

PHAEDRUS' FABLES. (trans. H.T. Riley)

Phaedrus' presentation of the fables differs from that of Aesop—Phaedrus often begins with the moral or point before telling the story. He also sometimes introduces a fable by way of a frame, in which Aesop is telling the story to address his current circumstance (e.g. 1.2 & 1.3). Most of Phaedrus' fables are recognizable treatments of those preserved as 'Aesop's', though often they are somewhat shorter. Thus the moral tends to eclipse the event or events of the stories themselves.

Nevertheless there are some not in the Aesop collection, or some with interesting alterations (such as Aesop's 'The Fox and the Monster Mask' v. Phaedrus' 'The Fox and the Tragic Mask'). There are 'new' examples of abnormal characterizations of certain animals, as in 1.15, where the laid-back ass is wiser than the cowardly old man, and in 1.23 and 1.25, with the limelight on the self-preserving suspiciousness of the dog (though 4.17 depicts very undignified canines indeed, and provides an *aition* for how they meet and greet each other). The dog in 5.10 provides an animal perspective on unfair human expectations of their animal companions, who have no voice with which to counter human censure for what the animals themselves cannot help.

Some fables are more obviously sympathetic to the vulnerable in 'society', as in 1.30, 'The Frogs Frightened at the Battle of the Bulls', not found in the Aesop collection. It also reveals itself as a later work: 2.4 features a cat, *feles*, as opposed to the house-ferret, more common in the earlier fables, and it is a sower of discord. Big cats do not necessarily share this trait with their smaller cousins. In 3.2, a pit-trapped panther is tormented by some human passers-by, but pitied by others; given the many stories recorded elsewhere of feline gratitude, it should be no surprise that the panther, having escaped, wreaks havoc on those who teased her, but spares those who threw her some bread.

The contrast between the wolf and dog in 3.7 is not of natures, as is so common in Aesop; rather, want is endured for the sake of liberty. 'Nature' is also challenged by the speech of the lamb in 3.15, who schools the dog: 'kindliness makes parents', rather than biology. It thus seems that some of these animal fables are imbued with greater abstraction and greater nuance, as they do not follow the same Aesopic, often simplistic, pattern of Nature determining practically everything.

OPPIAN: *Cynegetica* & *Halieutica*. (1928 Loeb edition)

Oppian's interest is obviously in two sets of animals—those which humans hunt, and those *with* which humans hunt. He himself states that he will not waste his time discussing insignificant quarry (this includes what he terms 'panther', 2.570ff., which the translator notes must be a smaller cat than the traditionally denoted leopard, *pordalis* in Oppian; the translator posits the snow leopard as a possibility).

The importance of dogs and horses is emphasized in his description of each in Book 1. He lists the best breeds of both, and which combinations thereof make the best hybrids. Oppian even specifies which breeds of horse are best suited to different types of quarry, as different breeds of dog are suited to different types of tracking (and attacking game). In these discussions of horses and dogs, the abilities of both are anthropomorphized, especially in similes. Some of which seem well-suited to the topic or suggest interesting analogies in other human-animal team pursuits, such as that comparing the successful hound to the farmworkers bringing in the harvest, *C.*1.527-34. Others, even throughout the whole of the two works, strike a false note, like that of the woman in labour at *C.*1.494ff.

The most interesting practical information about dogs and horses is the instruction about their training, as at *C.*1.444ff., and Oppian's repeated note that among the other comparative drawbacks of fishing, the mode does not allow for the aid of dogs, indicating the importance of their contribution in terrestrial pursuit, *H.*1.50. In addition, the close of Book 1 shows the hunter's affection and appreciation for the dog: having successfully caught and killed a hare, the man takes up both the hare and his dog in his arms, rewarding his working companion with an embrace, *C.*1.536-8.

Oppian weaves in a great deal of mythology, from attribution of invention of different approaches to or types of hunting to different mythological heroes (*C.*2.5-42), and both well-worn and new versions of human-into-animal metamorphoses (*C.*3.7ff. [lions were once the Curetes]; 3.78ff., 4.230ff. [note the uniqueness in mode of death for Pentheus {309f.}, the denial of other myths {317-9}, and the assimilation of Dionysus' 'nurses' to the Curetes {245-6}]; *H.*1.649-52a; it is worth pointing out that these last three examples, referring to two events, involve Dionysus), to the unexpected crediting of *Pan* with the defeat of Typhon, *H.*3.15ff. It often seems that by presenting these metamorphoses, Oppian proposes to explain why certain species are more like humans than others, e.g. lions and their kingliness (by association with Zeus), leopards and their supposed fondness for wine and dancing, dolphins and their intelligence and social

cohesion (though how this is characteristic of pirates is not entirely clear).

The author is eager to dispel any wrong-headed notions and to provide justification for his own reports, especially of the unusual. When he makes a claim about a black lion once on display, he insists that he saw it for himself, *C.*3.42-7. In further describing lion behaviour, he cites the witness of lion keepers, *C.*3.53-5, while in his discussion on tigers, he criticizes the claim that there are no males; the reason they are not observed or caught by humans is because they do not stick with their cubs, and thus are not hampered in their escape, *C.*3.340ff. In other cases, his descriptions of animals follow quite traditional poetic standards, like the Georgic-style bulls in *C.*2.43ff.

An interesting artistic feature of Oppian is his frequent use not only of animal similes to describe animals of other species (e.g., *C.*5.102-3), but also of human similes, which suggest an over-turning of epic norms. In one case, a lion's expression is compared to Zeus himself, *C.*4.160-4. By comparing animal species to each other and to humans, he emphasizes that, for all the diversity and distinctiveness among animal species, there are many similarities and parallels even across the different spheres. This is evident in the explicit comparison of the experience of the Tunny & Swordfish troubled by a parasitic worm (exacerbated by the Dog Star) to that of herds of cattle harassed by the gadfly (*H.*2.507-32). Immediately following, the status of the dolphin amongst other species of the sea is likened to the 'lords' of the other spheres and animal groups, namely eagles, lions, and serpents (*H.*2.533-42).

Oppian often describes wild animals sympathetically and with admiration, most often when animals' behaviour emulates the 'best' in humans. He repeatedly argues for a hitherto under-appreciated depth of devotion in all kinds of animal species to their young, but especially that of big cats (*C.*3.96ff.) and of certain marine mammals, like dolphins and seals (*H.*1.646-701). Like the universal power and influence of Eros (*H.*4.1-39), kin bonds are strong in many other animals besides humans (*C.*3.107-12; *H.*1.709-33). The grey mullet is praised for its gentleness, most evident in, apparently, its vegetarianism (*H.*2.642ff.). He also describes at length even non-mammalian sea animals' cleverness and ingenuity, combined with their natural defences (e.g. *H.*4.597-606, where the human takes on the role of the robber, the fish, the farmer), though humans usually manage to outwit even the most marvellous of animal escape artists. (*H.*4. 607-15).

Hunt is warfare, and the closeness of animal to human is often emphasized in battle & siege similes.

Not only is this the case for humans hunting animals, such as in the whale hunt (where oddly, after praising and reverencing the beautiful relationship between whales and their companion pilot fish, he directs fishermen to first deprive a whale of its pilots to make it helpless, *H.*5.62); the graphic depiction of the battle between the amia and the dolphins is just that: war (H.2.553ff.).

The last book of the *Cynegetica* describes several approaches to the same animal in different regions. *C.*4.77-211 portrays three different types of lion-trap or -hunt, in Libya, Mesopotamia, and Ethiopia. The approaches vary in character from non-confrontational, namely with baited pit and cage, to surround-and-flush (with horses), to matador-style tag-teaming, until the animal is worn down and must submit (like a sheep —contrast this with Gryllus' claim in 987e). The different methods perhaps communicate something about each human group's local character, as well as demonstrate the variety possible in separate groups' approach to problem solving. In every case, nevertheless, one thing is constant: the lion is bold and dangerous. This section does not focus as much on the animals involved, but one detail of the practice of leopard-baiting at *C.*4.216-9, in conjunction with the sheepdog culling of Varro, does indicate that puppies and certain types of dogs (here it is κυνός, though the translator has opted for 'puppy' rather than dog) were as disposable as, if not more so than, lambs and kids.

Two more things are worth noting: the author's possible disapproval, after describing several different impressive devices and techniques, of one particular fishing method—poisoning the water—at *H.*4.645ff.); and the curious medical simile describing the use of leeches during the battle between the amia and the dolphins (*H.*2.596-604).

Appendix C: Indices of Animal & Related References in Valerius Flaccus.

The following sections are three versions of the index of animal and monster references; the first presents them in order of appearance in the text (these include references to humans who work with animals, as well as products made from animals); the second and third are ordered alphabetically by animal, and then by context, respectively; these are finally followed by a listing of animal-related objects, such as bridles, chariots, horns, etc. There may be omissions; these are not deliberate. In addition, the table itself, as well as the categorization and description of items, represents the author's interpretation of these references in the text. As such the index can neither be claimed to be exhaustive or objective, but may still comprise a useful tool and guide to non-human representations in the *Argonautica.*

Entries marked with * indicate multiple listings under different categories.

Latin terms for monsters and serpents are often included in the references for comparison.

Indices Table of Contents

I. ANIMAL & MONSTER REFERENCE by ORDER of OCCURRENCE

Birds=**[B]**; Cattle=**[C]**; Dogs=**[D]**; Horses=**[H]**; Lions=**[L]**; Tigers=**[T]**; Serpents/Dragons=**[S]**; Sea Creatures=**[O]**; Monsters=**[M]**

Book 1

1.27b-30: **[C]** Pelias warned by victims (via haruspicy) on the altar that Jason will be trouble

1.31-6: **[M]** Pelias laments there are no more monsters in Greece left to send Jason to fight (references made to the beasts of Hercules' labors [including Lernean *anguis*])
1.36: **[C]** Pelias reflects on the two bulls broken by Hercules
1.58-63: **[S]** In his proposal to Jason, Pelias omits to mention the great *draco* on the other end
1.66-70: **[S]** Jason wonders how he can complete his quest without Perseus' sandals or Triptolemus *dracones*-drawn chariot*
1.88b-90: **[C]** Jason promises gilded sacrifice (cattle) from both himself and his father to Pallas
1.130-3: **[O]** ekphrasis of *Argo*; dolphin carrying Thetis
1.145-8: **[H] [M]** ekphrasis on *Argo*: Monychus (horse) conquered by Nestor, Nessus defeated
1.156-60: **[B]** omen: eagle steals lamb
1.161-2a: **[D]** sheepdogs bark after the eagle who has stolen a lamb
1.188-92: **[C]** the Minyae build altars on the shore for Neptune, the winds, and Glaucus
1.205-10: **[C]** flame climbs bull on the altar, Mopsus gives his oracle
1.221: **[C]** Mopsus sees the bulls and their breath in his vision
1.224-5a: **[S]** Mopsus in his reverie sees Medea with her *aligeris anguibus*
1.263: **[L]** infant Achilles inspects Hercules' lion-skin
1.277ff: Orpheus tells the story of Phrixus & Helle's escape, and Helle holds the ram's horns
1.394-7: Butes is known for his apiaries
1.398-401: **[S]** Phalerus' arms feature an *anguis* slipping from tree and strangling him
1.414b-9: Bear Constellation (Arctos)
1.420-1a: **[C]** Pollux' bull-hide boxing gloves
1.424-36: **[H]** description of Castor's horse-breaking skills
1.431-2: **[B] [H]** ekphrasis on cloaks of Dioscuri: father Jupiter as swan; twins' white horses (woven by their mother)
1.444-6: hero Admetus from Pherae known for shepherding skills (allusion to Apollo & Steropes)
1.450-6: **[O]** ekphrasis on shield of Canthus: Neptune's sea-wolves (*semiferum luporum*)
1.481-3: Bear Constellation (Arctos)
1.489-91: **[H] [T]** Jason cuts cables to ship after Acastus arrives: (simile) Jason is hurrying hunter after stealing tiger cubs—hunter's horse is fearful
1.489-93: **[H] [T]** Acastus running down to the ship: tiger cub stolen by hunter on horseback
1.525-7: **[H]** death of Phaethon
1.537-9a: **[H]** eastern lands rich in horses
1.549: Jupiter's plan for world history includes a shepherd from Ida
1.591-6: **[H]** winds like half-broken horses
1.608-13: **[H]** winds called the Thracian horses
1.677-80: **[C]** [victims] Jason vows full altars to Neptune (as Triton?) upon safe return
1.677-80: **[H]** Jason's vow to build altars wherever may be Neptune with chariot & horses, Triton as driver
1.682b-5: simile after Jason prays and the Minyae respond: farmworkers and their priest trying to divine what to do under the heat of Sirius
1.723: **[B*]**Pelias calls Jason a *praedo* when he realizes Acastus is gone
1.724b-5: **[H]** Pelias is *fremens*
1.757-61: **[L]** Aeson wavering as to action: a hesitant lion surrounded
1.774ff: **[C]** the necromancy: the bull to be offered frightened by the appearance of Cretheus

Book 2

2.9b-10a: **[H]** grazing horses on the Magnesian plain visible from the *Argo*
2.16b-20: **[M]** the Minyae from the ship see the stone forms of the Giants (further description of how they made war on Olympus, and Earth covered them over with earth & trees)
2.21-33: **[S] [M]** danger of Typhoeus compared to the Giants (also VF tells of how Neptune submerged him under Sicily); note the beating of his *anguibus* limbs on the shore
2.34-7: **[H]** Hyperion's car brings evening

2.66-8: **[S]** Pleiades & Draco (*serpens*)
2.72-4a: scared sheep haunted by bears at night
2.72-4a: bears retreating to their caves in the morning after hunting sheep
2.72-6: **[B][H]** shore-birds scattering at daybreak as *Argo* approaches Lemnos; Pheobus' chariot in the morning
2.127-30: **[H]** Venus instructs Rumour to spread about the invasion (includes cavalry) on Lemnos
2.157b-8a: the Thracian slave women en route to Lemnos were raised on milk of wild beasts
2.190-5: **[S]** Lemnian women like Tisiphone wreathing Phlegyas' & Theseus' food with her snakes (*hydris*)
2.259-60: **[T]** Bacchus' *lynces/tigres* acknowledge Hypsipyle's prayer
2.274b-6: **[S]** Hypsipyle asks for Bacchus' help and the opportunity to return his *dracones* purified to his temple
2.300-2a: Diana of the Taurians (*potnia therwn*)
2.316-9: **[O]** Proteus (Polyxo claims connection to him) drawn by team of seals (*phocis*)
2.329-31: **[C]** after the Minyae arrive in Lemnos, first time Venus' altar warm (since when is not clear) with sacrifice of a heifer
2.414-7: **[B]** ekphrasis on Hyp's cloak: rape of Ganymede
2.458-61: **[C] [L]** Hesione's cries: a bull bellowing with a lion on its back tearing with his teeth
2.478ff: **[O] [M]** Hesione episode: suddenly a b*elua ingens monstrum* rises up from the sea; called *monstris* at 489; *monstriferi* at 498; *monstri* at 514; feminine *illa* at 518?; *pistris* at 531; *belua* at 5352.380-2: Hercules in his exhortation at Lemnos hopes to despoil another *vigilem draconem*
2.487-8, 2.566: **[H]** Laomedon's snow-white horses, reward for rescuing Hesione
2.495-6: **[M]** Hesione cries for rescue; Hercules is reminded in his sympathy of the people afflicted by the labour-monsters
2.545b-49: **[C]** Hercules after rescue of Hesione: proud victorious bull returning to his herd

Book 3

3.5-7: **[C]** Cyzicus' people give Minyae chosen of their flocks as they depart
3.20-1: **[H]** Cyzicus hunts on Dindymus on horseback
3.20-4: **[L]** Cyzicus kills Cybele's lion
3.25-6: **[L]** Cyzicus kills Cybele's lion (pelt hung above door)
3.56-7: Pan called upon by Cybele; he gets sport from alarming flocks
3.65-9: simile of Cyzicus in his frenzy: Rheotus boasting of having killed wild beasts but returning with his son's body
3.87-92a: **[H]** the horses of Mars, Fear and Dread, wouldn't scatter the brave Minyae following Jason in war
3.130-2a: **[M]** Phlegyas of the Cyzicans compared to Typhon in his fury while Jove clutches him by the hair
3.189b-92: **[S]** warrior Itys on Cyzicus wounded at his belt-buckle with twin-snakes (*dracones*)
3.223b-8: **[M]** Cyzicus in his wildness compared to Coeus aspiring to assault Olympus, but opposed by Cerberus and the Hydra
3.237: **[L]** Cyzicus hears the roar of lions
3.334: **[H]** sad but willing horses as funeral sacrifice at Cyzicus
3.334-5: **[D]** hunting dogs as funeral offering at Cyzicus
3.335: **[C]** cattle as part of funeral sacrifice at Cyzicus
3.354-5a: **[B]** Cyzicus had ignored warnings in lightning and bird-signs
3.357-61: **[B]** departure of mourning Cyzicans from pyres: migration of birds from Nile
3.411-5a: **[C]** Mopsus instructs Jason to sacrifice 2 steers at dawn (for placating the shades)
3.456-8: **[S]** peaceful *angues* accept the offering from the Minyae
3.511-2a: **[M]** Juno laments that she can't find another Nemea or Lerna
3:515-6: **[S]** Juno's vexation since the *angues* bested by Hercules as a baby

3.545-8: Juno sends a hart through the woods to draw on Hylas
3.565-8a: **[L]** Hercules carries tree trunk on back, over lion-skin (*fulvi monstri* stands in for *leo*)
3.581-6: **[C]** panicked Hercules searching for Hylas: bull stung in chest by gadfly
3.587-9: **[L]** second simile to describe madness of Hercules in search for Hylas: a lion struck by Moor's spear (cf. Lucan's simile of Caesar)
3.631-6: pride of Minyae cf. to hind & boar when cats & wolves have departed
3.633-6: **[L] [T]** simile when Minyae arguing about awaiting Hercules: hind and boar ready to have trouble with others (bear, wolves?) when the roaring lion or tiger is gone
3.706: **[C]** Minyae arguing over Hercules: 'lamb springing at timid bull'
3.719-21: **[L]** Minyae miss Hercules' lion-skin
3.728b-9: herdsmen of different lands return from fields in evening*****
3.726-8a: **[O]** Phorcys gathers herd of shell-encrusted seals together in evening
3.737-40: **[L]** Hercules after disappearance of Hylas: bereft [maned] lioness

Book 4

4.44-50: **[B]** Hercules trying to embrace Hylas' shade: halcyon following the waves which have carried off her young
4.68-72: **[B]** Prometheus is heard howling at the sight of the vulture
4.99-100: **[C]** land of Bebrycians friendly to strong bulls
4.150-3: **[C]** those who won't fight Amycus he sets up like bulls at sacrifice (before throwing them off a cliff)
4.195-8: **[C]** Pollux takes the lead against Amycus: bull venturing into river followed by herd
4.230: **[H]** a horse not the prize in fight between Pollux and Amycus
4.230-1: **[C]** a bull not the reward for fighting Amycus
4.236-8: **[S][M]** Amycus looking at his foes compared to Typhoeus gazing in pain over Bacchus, Pallas and the aegis (Medusa's locks)
4.250-1: **[C]** Pollux' bull-hide boxing gloves
4.337-41a: **[C]** sacrifice (cattle) to the gods after Pollux defeats Amycus
4.346ff: **[C]** Argo sails through/past Bosporus; Orpheus sings story of Io
4.366ff: **[C]** Orpheus singing Io's tale: Argus, and Io wandering through places bristling with *monstris*
4.393: **[S] [M]** possible translation issue; Tisiphone with snakes or whips chases Io
4:412-3: **[S] [M]** Nile defends Io and sweeps away Tisiphone and shakes up her snakes (*hydri*)
4.416b-8: **[S]** Io's apotheosis; now she has snake-girt hair (*aspide*)
4.450ff: **[B] [M]** the Harpies
4.514-8: **[M]** Harpies being chased by the sons of Boreas call for help from their father Typhon (he speaks)
4.569b-71: **[B]** the birds keep away from the seas near the clashing rocks
4.569b-71: **[H] [O]** even Neptune turns his horses aside from the Clashing Rocks
4.579ff: **[B] [M]** Phineus calls the Harpies Tartarean volucres
4.601-5: description of the Amazons and their practices
4.606-9: **[H]** description of horsewomanship of the Amazons
4.683b-5: **[C]** Juno & Pallas holding back the cliffs: plowman bending horns of bull
4.749-50: **[M]** Lycus says the dead Amycus resembles a washed-up *aequoreo monstro*

Book 5

5.43: **[M[** Jason laments the loss of Hercules, who was equal to his *monstriferae novercae*
5.67-9a: **[C]** Erginus chosen as new helmsman: proud bull has won leadership of herd
5.120-25a: **[H]** horses offered to Mars by Amazons after victories

5.150-3: **[H]** Philyra and Saturn (he seduced her in form of a horse; cf. AR 2.1231-41)
5.175: **[B]** Minyae see the shadow of the dying vulture departing from Prometheus
5.180b-3: **[H]** wing-footed horses of Juno & Pallas in their chariots
5.253-5: **[S]** *anguis* comes out of the mountains to guard the fleece after Aeetes' prayer
5.429-32: **[H]** death of Phaethon on doors of the Temple of the Sun
5.439: **[O]** ekphrasis of doors of the Temple of the Sun—seals delighting in Orpheus' singing from the *Argo*
5.451a-4: **[S]** ekphrasis: Medea on the doors of the Temple of the Sun with her *aligeris anguibus*
5.479-82: **[M]** Jason asks Aeetes who would have faced *monstra maris*, as Jason has, unless commanded
5.526-7: **[S]** Aeetes asks how Jason could expect to demand the fleece *ab angue*
5.586-8: **[H]** foreign cavalry-men (*eques*) fighting at Colchis who cultivate a groomed look
5.590a: **[T]** guest of Aeetes in tiger-pelt
5.602-4: **[H]** warrior Choaspes drinks his horse's blood
5.610-4: **[H]** Amazon Euryale has a wing-swift chariot (reminiscent of those of Juno & Pallas)
5.651-4a: Pallas argues with Mars: she is not the Aloids or the Lapiths

Book 6

6.33-5: **[H]** the horses and men in whom Perses put his trust
6.38-41: **[S]** land of the north described as being under the constellation of the *anguem*
6.39b-41: Bear Constellation (Arctos)
6.48-52: **[S][M]** Colaxes' bi-form mother *geminos angues*; also reference to Colaxes' arms (*auratos dracones*)
6.57-9: **[S]** twin *serpentes* in gold on Colaxes' arms
6.69b-70: armies of Acesinus bear [the] fleece on their standard, with golden pelt & horns
6.88-91: Corallians have porcupines on their war banners
6.102: **[B]** unclear reference to lands rich in swans
6.106-13: **[D]** Caspians' war-dogs in battle
6.144-5a: **[C]** Toryni have pride in their honey (and milk-pails)
6.146-7a: constellation (*arcto*) used to refer to the North
6.146-7a: **[H]** Exomatae most famous for the chase & for its horses (compared to the North)
6.147-9: **[T]** the Exomatae carry off lion/tiger cubs in the hunt
6.161-2a: **[H]** Moesians change horses in course of battle
6.163-7: **[B]** the assembled forces at Colchis are louder than the clamour of birds above rivers
6.173-7: **[S] [M]** Pallas takes up her places with the Minyae, armed with the bristling aegis (*colubris*)
6.204ff: **[H]** Castor notes the Hyrcanians' horses and goes after one (belonging to Gela) for himself
6.234-8: **[H]** horses of the Sarmatians wear matching armour
6.256-9: **[H]** Oncheus, in spite of trying to turn his horse, is impaled on a spike along with his mount
6.260-4: **[B]** rider impaled on pike (cf above): bird trapped in lime
6.311-3a: **[D]** Gesander's taunt threatens cowards in battle (they shall be prey of dogs)
6.328: **[H]** Gesander taunts Canthus, says his own people ride horses rather than build ships & oars
6.333: Gesander talks about what his tribe eats: notes hunting & husbandry
6.346b-7a: **[L]** Telamon fighting over corpse of Canthus: a lion at bay protecting his cubs
6.358-60: **[C]** simile of the battle over Canthus' body: steer-skin stretched and prepared
6.386ff: **[H]** chariot disaster
6.396-401: **[H] [S] [M]** Pallas raises Medusa's head to frighten the horses of Ariasmenus (*hydris*)
6.403-6: Pallas spreading panic: weird simile, compared to Tisiphone stirring up Romans to war

while farmers work the countryside
6.417-22: **[H] [D]** simile regarding the chariot disaster: hunter and his dogs coming upon the locked stags
6.419b-22: **[D]** hunting simile with Umbrian hound
6.433-5: **[C]** Juno chides Vulcan for creating the flame-breathing bulls
6.436-8: **[C]** Juno is afraid of Jason having to deal with the bulls (*monstra*) & the Cadmeian hydra's teeth
6.451-4: **[C]** Juno chooses Medea as an ally for Jason, since no one else would be a match for the bulls & earth-born
6.503-6: **[B]** Medea and 'Chalciope' on the walls compared to terrified flock of birds fleeing from storms
6.517-23:**[H]** Absyrtus with his galloping steeds mows down warriors
6.524-8: **[H]** Absyrtus' friend Aron's cloak billows out over the back of his horse
6.530b-4: Armes wears sheepskins; cryptic connection to Pan
6.553-4: **[H]** Argus kills two mounted warriors, strikes them off their horses
6.559-60a: **[C] [H]** Ripheus fighting for 100 oxen and 100 horses
6.580-3: **[H]** Medea imagines how many horses (& men) Jason would single-handedly strike down
6.611-2: simile of Jason who rises up in battle: great as Caucasus in winter-time with Bears (constellations) overhead
6.613-4: **[C] [L]** Jason in battle: lion killing the pride of the stalls in the stable
6.636-40a:**[H]** Colaxes, his horse killed beneath him, continues fighting on foot
6.639-41: Thydrus is guard of his father's flocks
6.646-8a: **[B]** Colaxes taunts Jason (shall be carrion for dogs and birds)
6.696-8: **[H]** Myraces and his eunuch enter the fray in a fancy chariot
6.703-6: **[T]** Myraces dies in battle; tiger-skin (with purple) 'bleeds' through its mouth

Book 7

7.passim: **[C]** the fire-breathing bulls
7.73-6: **[S] [M]** Aeetes discusses the teeth of Cadmus' *hydri*
7.111ff: **[C]** Medea hovering and indecisive like Io on her journeys
7.117-20: **[S]** Medea asks Chalciope about Circe's flight with her *aligeri dracones*
7.147-52: **[S] [M]** simile of Medea in frenzy: Orestes tortured by Tisiphone's snakes (*angues*)
7.166-9: **[S]** Juno asks Venus to persuade Medea to help Jason against the *anguem*
7.217-9: **[S]** Medea asks 'Circe' herself about the *biiugis serpentibus*
7.232-3: **[C]** Circe claims there are no such bulls in the land of Picus
7.249b-50: **[S]** Medea sees *vipereos* locks rising up from 'Circe's' face
7.287/289: **[M]** 'Circe' makes comparison between Medea & Ariadne (and her *fratrem* the Minotaur)
7.344-6a: **[M]** Medea tries to make up her mind, wonders why her father wishes to destroy Jason with *monstri*
7.355-60: **[B]** Medea's Promethean herb (grows from the wound inflicted by the vulture)
7.375-9: **[B]** Medea leaves the city: mother bird leading out chicks for first time; they're frightened and want to go back to the nest
7.400-2: anxiety of meeting of Jason & Medea like that of herdsmen in the night
7.420-1: **[M]** Jason wonders the same thing as Medea (*tantis monstris*)
7.461-6: **[C]** the bulls feel themselves weakening as Medea works spells for Jason
7.501-8: Jason swears he will remember Medea and vows that he might not be victorious if he should forget her; Jason says to let himself be defeated by the *feros terrigenas*
7.509-10: the Fury hears Jason's pledge to Medea
7.516ff: **[S] [M]** the guard of the fleece called *monstra*; *anguem*; *monstri*; Aeetes wants Medea to use her *draco* against the Greeks (550)
7.539-53: **[C]** Echion brings Aeetes the message to set loose the bulls

7.604-6: **[C]** Jason harness fire-breathing bull to the plough: (simile) the emergence from the earth of the first horse
7.610ff: **[M]** Jason's battle with the earth-born
7.622-4: **[M]** Jason compared to Hercules alone against the Lernean hydra's heads, needing help from Pallas

Book 8

8.20-3: **[O]** simile as Medea darts from her home: Ino leaps into the sea with her child
8.32-5: **[B]** Medea's fear in the woods before meeting with Jason: dove frightened by a hawk falling on a man
8.60ff: **[S] [M]** Jason & Medea face the *draco* (*anguem* in 66, *draco* in 71, 92, 107); serpent compared to the Po or the Nile in 90
8.106b-7a: **[C]** Medea urges Jason to take the fleece; she's defeated the bulls and earth-born
8.125-6: **[L]** golden fleece on Jason compared to lion-skin on Hercules as he leaves the Nemean caves
8.150b-3a: **[B]** Medea's mother wishes she were a bird and could tear at Jason's face
8.252-4: sacrifice prepared before the wedding ceremony (possibly woodland & domesticated animals)
8.264-6: **[C]** Absyrtus says the Colchian fleet does not follow false bull's tracks (reference to Jupiter & Europa)
8.437-8: Medea asks Jason whether he could have done the tasks without her
8.342b-3: **[C]**Styrus says he would have yoked the bulls without enchantments
8.395-6: the Minyae ask Jason not to let Medea (a Fury) be the cause of war between East & West
8.438b: **[S] [M]** Medea asks how Jason, without her help, could have approached *templa draconis*
8.449b-50: **[C]** Medea hallucinates about running from the bulls, in her panic flees from the *terrigenas*
8.456: Medea's sobbing likened to howling wolves
8.456-7a: **[L]** Medea's howling: lions roaring hungrily
8.457:**[C]** Medea's crying compared to bereft cattle sighing

II. REFERENCE by ANIMAL (grouped by sub-category)

BIG CATS

Associates of the Gods

2.259-60: Bacchus' *lynces/tigres* acknowledge Hypsipyle's prayer
3.20-4: Cyzicus kills Cybele's lion
3.237: Cyzicus hears the roar of lions

Skins/Pelts

1.263: infant Achilles inspects Hercules' lion-skin
3.25-6: Cyzicus kills Cybele's lion (pelt hung above door)
3.565-8a: Hercules carries tree trunk on back, over lion-skin (*fulvi monstri* stands in for *leo*)
3.719-21: Minyae miss Hercules' lion-skin
5.590a: guest of Aeetes in tiger-pelt
6.703-6: Myraces dies in battle; tiger-skin (with purple) 'bleeds' through its mouth
8.125-6: golden fleece on Jason compared to lion-skin on Hercules as he leaves the Nemean caves

Similes: Lion Hunting/Fighting/Cornered

1.489-93: Acastus running down to the ship: tiger cub stolen by hunter on horseback

1.757-61: Aeson wavering as to action: a hesitant lion surrounded
2.458-61: Hesione's cries: a bull bellowing with a lion on its back tearing with his teeth
3.587-9: second simile to describe madness of Hercules in search for Hylas: a lion struck by Moor's spear
3.631-6: pride of Minyae compared to hind & boar when predators have departed
3.706: lamb springing at timid lions in argument over leaving Hercules behind (as above)
3.737-40: Hercules after disappearance of Hylas: bereft lioness
6.346b-7a: Telamon fighting over corpse of Canthus: a lion at bay protecting his cubs
6.613-4: Jason in battle: lion killing the pride of the stalls in the stable
8.456-7a: Medea's howling: lions roaring hungrily

Motif of Bereft Lioness/Tigress

1.489-93: Acastus running down to the ship: tiger cub stolen by hunter on horseback
3.737-40: Hercules after disappearance of Hylas: bereft [maned] lioness
6. 147-9: the Exomatae carry off lion/tiger cubs in the hunt

BIRDS

Divination

1.156-60: omen: eagle steals lamb
3.354-5a: Cyzicus had ignored warnings in lightning and bird-signs

The Promethean Vulture

4.68-72: Prometheus is heard howling at the sight of the vulture
5.175: Minyae see the shadow of the dying vulture departing from Prometheus
7.355-60: Medea's Promethean herb (grows from the wound inflicted by the vulture)

Nature Imagery

2.72-6: shore-birds scattering at daybreak as *Argo* approaches Lemnos
4.569b-71: the birds keep away from the seas near the clashing rocks
6.102: unclear reference to lands rich in swans

Tools & Takers of Vengeance

4.633-4a: Phineus calls the Harpies 'birds'; asks if they're really gone
6.647-8a: Colaxes threatens scavenging by birds
8.150b-3a: Medea's mother wishes she were a bird and could tear at Jason's face

Similes

3.357-61: departure of mourning Cyzicans from pyres: migration of birds from Nile
4.44-50: Hercules trying to embrace Hylas' shade: halcyon following the waves which have carried off her young
6.163-7: the assembled forces at Colchis are louder than the clamour of birds above rivers
6.260-4: rider impaled on pike: bird trapped in lime
6.503-6: Medea and 'Chalciope' on the walls compared to terrified flock of birds fleeing from storms
7.375-9: Medea leaves the city: mother bird leading out chicks for first time; they're frightened and want to go back to the nest
8.32-5: Medea's fear in the woods before meeting with Jason: dove frightened by a hawk falling on a man

Ekphrases

1.431-2: *ekphrasis* on cloaks of Dioscuri: father Jupiter as swan
2.414-7: *ekphrasis* on Hypsipyle's cloak: rape of Ganymede

CATTLE & BULLS

(NB: the Vulcanian Bulls are often referred to as *monstri*, but are not categorized as such here)

Cattle for Sacrifice/Offering and in Ritual

1.27b-30: Pelias warned by victims (via *haruspicy*) on the altar that Jason will be trouble
1.88b-90: Jason promises gilded sacrifice (cattle) from both himself and his father to Pallas
1.188-92: the Minyae build altars on the shore for Neptune, the winds, and Glaucus
1.205-10: flame climbs bull on the altar, Mopsus gives his oracle
1.677-80: Jason vows full altars to Neptune (as Triton?) upon safe return
1.774ff: sacrifice of the bull at the necromancy
2.329-31: after the Minyae arrive in Lemnos, offer a sacrifice; first time Venus' altar warm (since when is not clear) with sacrifice of a heifer
3.335: cattle as part of funeral sacrifice at Cyzicus
3.411-5a: Mopsus instructs Jason to sacrifice two steers at dawn (for placating the shades)
4.337-41a: sacrifice (cattle) to the gods after Pollux defeats Amycus
8.252-4: sacrifice prepared before the wedding ceremony (possibly woodland & domesticated animals)

Bulls as Gifts/Rewards/Payment

4.230-1: a bull not the reward for fighting Amycus
6.559-60a: Ripheus fighting for 100 oxen and 100 horses

Bulls as Feature of Nations/Landscape

4.99-100: land of Bebrycians 'friendly to strong bulls'
6.333: Gesander talks about what his tribe eats: notes hunting & husbandry

Io

4.346ff: *Argo* sails through/past Bosporus; Orpheus sings story of Io
7.111ff: Medea hovering and indecisive like Io on her journeys

The Fire-breathing Bulls

1.221: Mopsus sees the bulls and their breath in his vision
6.433-5: Juno chides Vulcan for creating the flame-breathing bulls
6.451-4: Juno chooses Medea as an ally for Jason, since no one else would be a match for the bulls & earth-born
7.passim: the fire-breathing bulls
7.232-3: Circe claims there are no such bulls in the land of Picus
7.461-6: the bulls feel themselves weakening as Medea works spells for Jason
7.501-8: Jason swears he will remember Medea and vows that he might not be victorious if he should forget her
7.539-53: Echion brings Aeetes the message to set loose the bulls
8.106b-7a: Medea urges Jason to take the fleece; she's defeated the bulls and earth-born
8.342b-3: Styrus says he would have yoked the bulls without enchantments
8.437-8: Medea asks Jason whether he could have done the tasks without her
8.449b-50: Medea hallucinates about running from the bulls

Bull Hides

1.420-1a: Pollux' bull-hide boxing gloves
4.250-1: Pollux' bull-hide boxing gloves
6.358-60: simile of the battle over Canthus' body: steer-skin stretched and prepared

Cattle in Mythic Allusion

1.36: Pelias reflects on the two bulls broken by Hercules
8.264-6: Absyrtus says the Colchian fleet does not follow false bull's tracks (reference to Jupiter & Europa)

Cattle & Bull Similes

2.458-62: Hesione's cries: a bull bellowing with a lion on its back tearing with his teeth
2.545b-49: Hercules after rescue of Hesione: proud victorious bull returning to his herd
3.581-6: panicked Hercules searching for Hylas: bull stung in chest by gadfly
4.150-3: those who won't fight Amycus he sets up like bulls at sacrifice (before throwing them off a cliff)*
4.195-8: Pollux takes the lead against Amycus: bull venturing into river followed by herd
4.683b-5: Juno & Pallas holding back the cliffs: plowman bending horns of bull
5.67-9a: Erginus chosen as new helmsman: proud bull has won leadership of herd
6.613-4: Jason's enemies in battle: pride of the stalls killed by lion in the stable
8.457: Medea's crying compared to bereft cattle sighing

DOGS

Hunting/Working/War Dogs

1.161-2a: sheepdogs bark after the eagle who has stolen a lamb
3.334-5: hunting dogs as funeral offering at Cyzicus
6.106-13: Caspians' war-dogs in battle
6.419b-22: hunting simile with Umbrian hound

Pets

7.124-6: simile of confused Medea as clinging lapdog

Scavengers

6.311-3a: Gesander's taunt threatens cowards in battle (they shall be prey of dogs)
6.646-8a: Colaxes taunts Jason (shall be carrion for dogs and birds)

Sirius

1.683-5: distress wrought by rising of Dog-star (change in weather)

5.368-71a: Jason in his splendour compared to autumnal Sirius; note on oppressive heat

HORSES

Horses in War

2.127-30: Venus instructs Rumour to spread about the invasion (includes cavalry) on Lemnos
5.586-8: foreign cavalry-men (*eques*) fighting at Colchis who cultivate a groomed look
5.602-4: warrior Choaspes drinks his horse's blood
5.610-4: Amazon Euryale has a wing-swift chariot (reminiscent of those of Juno & Pallas)

6.33-5: the horses and men in whom Perses put his trust
6.146-7a: Exomatae most famous for the chase & for its horses (compared to the North)
6.161-2a: Moesians change horses in course of battle
6.204ff: Castor notes the Hyrcanians' horses and goes after one (belonging to Gela) for himself
6.234-8: horses of the Sarmatians wear matching armour
6.256-9: Oncheus, in spite of trying to turn his horse, is impaled on a spike along with his mount
6.328: Gesander taunts Canthus, says his own people ride horses rather than build ships & oars
6:386ff: chariot disaster
6.517-23: Absyrtus with his galloping steeds mows down warriors
6.524-8: Absyrtus' friend Aron's cloak billows out over the back of his horse
6.553-4: Argus kills two mounted warriors, strikes them off their horses
6.580-3: Medea imagines how many horses (& men) Jason would single-handedly strike down
6.636-40a: Colaxes, his horse killed beneath him, continues fighting on foot
6.696-8: Myraces and his eunuch enter the fray in a fancy chariot

Horses for Hunting

1.489-91: Jason cuts cables to ship after Acastus arrives: (simile) Jason is hurrying hunter after stealing tiger cubs—hunter's horse is fearful
3.20-1: Cyzicus hunts on Dindymus on horseback

Horses as Offerings/Sacrifices

3.334: sad but willing horses as funeral sacrifice at Cyzicus
5.120-25a: horses offered to Mars by Amazons after victories

Horses as Reward/Payment

2.487-8, 2.566: Laomedon's snow-white horses, reward for rescuing Hesione
4.230: a horse not the prize in fight between Pollux and Amycus
6.559-60a: mercenary Ripheus killed; he was fighting for 100 oxen & 100 horses

Horses as Feature of Nation/Landscape

1.537-9a: eastern lands rich in horses
2.9b-10a: grazing horses on the Magnesian plain visible from the *Argo*
6.146-7a: Exomatae most famous for the chase & for its horses (compared to the North)*
6.328-9a: Gesander taunts Canthus, says they ride horses rather than build ships & oars*

Horses as Associates of the Gods

1.677-80: Jason's vow to build altars wherever may be Neptune with chariot & horses (cf. entry for 1.450-6), Triton as driver
2.34-7: Hyperion's car brings evening
2.72-6: Pheobus' chariot in the morning
3.87-92a: the horses of Mars, Fear and Dread, wouldn't scatter the brave Minyae following Jason in war
5.180b-3: wing-footed horses of Juno & Pallas in their chariots

Riding as Skill

1.424-36: description of Castor's horse-breaking skills
4.606-9: description of horsewomanship of the Amazons

Horses in Metaphor/Simile

1.591-6: winds like half-broken horses

1.608-13: winds called the 'Thracian horses'
1.724b-5: Pelias is *fremens* (?)
2.384b-9: Jason's heart kindled by Hercules' exhortation: an old war-horse hearing the summons to battle

Ekphrases

1.145-8: ekphrasis on *Argo*: Monychus (horse) conquered by Nestor, Nessus defeated
1.431-2: horses on cloaks of the Dioscuri (woven by their mother)

Horses in Mythic Allusions

1.525-7: death of Phaethon
5.150-3: Philyra and Saturn (he seduced her in form of a horse; cf. AR 2.1231-41)
5.429-32: death of Phaethon on doors of the Temple of the Sun
7.604-6: Jason harness fire-breathing bull to the plough: (simile) the emergence from the earth of the first horse

NON-BOVINE/-EQUID LIVESTOCK

Sheep/Flocks

1.156-7: lamb stolen by eagle in omen
2.72-4a: scared folds haunted by bears at night
3.5-7: Cyzicus' people give Minyae chosen of their flocks as they depart
3.56-7: Pan called upon by Cybele; he gets sport from alarming flocks
3.706: Minyae arguing over Hercules: 'lamb springing at timid bull'
6.530b-4: Armes wears sheepskins; cryptic connection to Pan
6.639-41: Thydrus is guard of his father's flocks

Phrixus' Golden Ram

1.277ff: Orpheus tells the story of Phrixus & Helle's escape, and Helle holds the ram's horns
6.69b-70: armies of Acesinus bear [the] fleece on their standard, with golden pelt & horns

Human Associates: Herdsmen

1.158-9a: shepherds chasing eagle to retrieve lamb (omen)
1.444-6: hero Admetus from Pherae known for shepherding skills (allusion to Apollo & Steropes)
1.549: Jupiter's plan for world history includes a shepherd from Ida
1.682b-5: simile after Jason prays and the Minyae respond: farmworkers and their priest trying to divine what to do under the heat of Sirius
3.728b-9: herdsmen of different lands return from fields in evening*
4.199ff: Amycus returns to his cave with his flocks
7.400-2: anxiety of meeting of Jason & Medea like that of herdsmen in the night

SEA ANIMALS

Associates of the gods

2.316-9: Proteus (Polyxo claims connection to him) drawn by team of seals (*phocis*)
3.726-8a: Phorcys gathers herd of shell-encrusted seals together in evening

4.569b-71: even Neptune (?--*pater maris*) turns his team aside from the Clashing Rocks

Ekphrases & Simile

1.130-3: *ekphrasis* of *Argo*; dolphin carrying Thetis
1.450-6: *ekphrasis* on shield of Canthus: Neptune's sea-wolves (*semiferum luporum*)
5.439: *ekphrasis* of doors of the Temple of the Sun—seals delighting in Orpheus' singing from the *Argo*
8.20-3: simile as Medea darts from her home: Ino leaps into the sea with her child

OTHER WILD ANIMALS

Bears

1.414b-9: Bear Constellation (Arctos)
1.481-3: " "
2.72-4a: bears retreating to their caves in the morning after hunting sheep
6.39b-41: Bear Constellation (Arctos)
6.146-7a: constellation used to refer to the North
6.611-2: simile of Jason who rises up in battle: great as Caucasus in winter-time with Bears (constellations) overhead

Bees

1.394-7: Butes is known for his apiaries
6.144-5a: Toryni have pride in their honey (and milk-pails)

Deer

3.545-8: Juno sends a hart through the woods to draw on Hylas
6.417-22: simile regarding the chariot disaster: hunter and his dogs coming upon the locked stags*

Miscellaneous/Multiple/Unspecified

2.157b-8a: the Thracian slave women en route to Lemnos were raised on milk of wild beasts
2.300-2a: Diana of the Taurians (*potnia therwn*)
3.65-9: simile of Cyzicus in his frenzy: Rheotus boasting of having killed wild beasts but returning with his son's body
3.633-6: simile when Minyae arguing about awaiting Hercules: hind and boar ready to have trouble with others (bear, wolves?) when the roaring lion or tiger is gone
6. 88-91: Corallians have porcupines on their war banners
6.333: Gesander speaks of his country's hunting and eating habits
8.252-4: sacrifice prepared before the wedding ceremony (possibly woodland & domesticated animals)

Wolves

3.631-6: pride of Minyae cf to hind & boar when cats & wolves have departed
4:373ff: kingdom of Lycus (?)
8.456: Medea's sobbing likened to howling wolves

SNAKES & MONSTERS

Snakes Connected with Ritual

2.274b-6: Hypsipyle asks for Bacchus' help and the opportunity to return his *dracones* purified to his temple
3.456-8: peaceful *angues* accept the offering from the Minyae

Ekphrases

1.398-401: Phalerus' arms feature an *anguis* slipping from tree and strangling him
3.189b-92: warrior Itys on Cyzicus wounded at his belt-buckle with twin-snakes (*dracones)*
6.57-9: twin *serpens* in gold on Colaxes' arms

The Constellation

2.66-8: Pleiades & Draco (*serpens*)
6.38-41: land of the north described as being under the constellation of the *anguem*

Snakes & Monsters in Mythic Allusions

1.66-70: Jason wonders how he can complete his quest without Perseus' sandals or Triptolemus *dracones*-drawn chariot*
3.223b-8: Cyzicus in his wildness compared to Coeus aspiring to assault Olympus, but opposed by Cerberus and the Hydra
6.48-52: Colaxes' bi-form mother *geminos angues*; also reference to Colaxes' arms (*auratos dracones*)*
7.73-6: Aeetes discusses the teeth of Cadmus' *hydri*
7.287/289: 'Circe' makes comparison between Medea & Ariadne (and her *fratrem* the Minotaur*)*

In Allusions to Hercules' Labors

1.31-6: Pelias laments there are no more monsters in Greece left to send Jason to fight (references made to the beasts of Hercules' labors [including Lernean *anguis*])
2.495-6: Hesione cries for rescue; Hercules is reminded in his sympathy of the people afflicted by the labor-monsters
3.511-2a: Juno laments that she can't find another Nemea or Lerna
3:515-6: Juno's vexation since the *angues* bested by Hercules as a baby
3.565-8a: Hercules carries tree trunk on back, over lion-skin (*fulvi monstri* stands in for *leo*)
5.43: Jason laments the loss of Hercules, who was equal to his *monstriferae novercae*
7.622-4: Jason compared to Hercules alone against the Lernean hydra's heads, needing help from Pallas
8.125-6: golden fleece on Jason compared to lion-skin on Hercules as he leaves the Nemean caves

Snakes as Body Parts (Excluding Typhon, Medusa, Tisiphone)

4.416b-8: Io's apotheosis; now she has snake-girt hair (*aspide)*
6.48-52: Colaxes' bi-form mother *geminos angues*; also reference to Colaxes' arms (*auratos dracones*)*
7.249b-50: Medea sees *vipereos* locks rising up from 'Circe's' face*

Medusa/Aegis

4.236-8: simile comparing Amycus to Typhoeus: Medusa's *angues* used to confront Typhoeus*

6.173-7: Pallas takes up her places with the Minyae, armed with the bristling aegis (*colubris*)
6.396-401: Pallas raises Medusa's head to frighten the horses of Ariasmenus (*hydris*)

Typhon/Typhoeus

2.21-33: danger of Typhoeus compared to the Giants (also VF tells of how Neptune submerged him under Sicily); note the beating of his *anguibus* limbs on the shore
3.130-2a: Phlegyas of the Cyzicans compared to Typhon in his fury while Jove clutches him by the hair
4.236-8: Amycus looking at his foes compared to Typhoeus gazing in pain over Bacchus, Pallas and the aegis (Medusa's locks)*
4.514-8: Harpies being chased by the sons of Boreas call for help from their father Typhon (he speaks)

Tisiphone & Other Monsters of Vengeance

2.190-5: Lemnian women like Tisiphone wreathing Phlegyas' & Theseus' food with her snakes (*hydris*)
4.366ff: Orpheus singing Io's tale: Argus, and Io wandering through places bristling with *monstris*
4.393: possible translation issue; Tisiphone with snakes or whips chases Io
4:412-3: Nile defends Io and sweeps away Tisiphone and shakes up her snakes (*hydri*)
4.450ff: the Harpies
4.579ff: Phineus calls the Harpies Tartarean *volucres*
6.403-6: Pallas spreading panic: weird simile, compared to Tisiphone stirring up Romans to war while farmers work the countryside
7.147-52: simile of Medea in frenzy: Orestes tortured by Tisiphone's snakes (*angues*)
7.249b-50: Medea sees *vipereos* locks rising up from 'Circe's' face*
7.509-10: the Fury hears Jason's pledge to Medea

Giants/Earth-born/Monstrous Races/Jason's 'Labors'

2.16b-20: the Minyae from the ship see the stone forms of the Giants (further description of how they made war on Olympus, and Earth covered them over with earth & trees)
4.601-5: description of the Amazons and their practices
5.651-4a:Pallas argues with Mars: she is not the Aloids or the Lapiths
6.436-8: Juno is afraid of Jason having to deal with the bulls (*monstra*) & the Cadmeian hydra's teeth
7.73-6: Aeetes is setting forth the task—Cadmeian hydra (teeth & earth-born)
7.344-6a: Medea tries to make up her mind, wonders why her father wishes to destroy Jason with *monstri*
7.420-1: Jason wonders the same thing as Medea (*tantis monstris*)
7.501-8: Jason says to let himself be defeated by the *feros terrigenas* if he should forget Medea
7.610ff: Jason's battle with the earth-born
8.106-8: Medea says she has laid low the earth-born
8.342b-3: Styrus claims he would have done the tasks without enchantments
8.449b-50: Medea hallucinates, in her panic flees from the *terrigenas*

Sea-Monsters

2.478ff: Hesione episode: suddenly a *belua ingens monstrum* rises up from the sea; called *monstris* at 489; *monstriferi* at 498; *monstri* at 514; feminine *illa* at 518?; *pistris* at 531; *belua* at 535
4.749-50: Lycus says the dead Amycus resembles a washed-up *aequoreo monstro*

5.479-82: Jason asks Aeetes who would have faced *monstra maris*, as Jason has, unless commanded

Chariot Dragons

1.66-70: Jason wonders how he can do the task without Perseus' sandals or Triptolemus *dracones*-drawn chariot*
1.224-5a: Mopsus in his reverie sees Medea with her *aligeris anguibus*
5.451a-4: *ekphrasis:* Medea on the doors of the Temple of the Sun with her *aligeris anguibus*
7.117-20: Medea asks Chalciope about Circe's flight with her *aligeri dracones*
7.217-9: Medea asks 'Circe' herself about the *biiugis serpentibus*

Medea's Guard-snake

1.58-63: In his proposal to Jason, Pelias omits to mention the great *draco* on the other end
2.380-2: Hercules in his exhortation at Lemnos hopes to despoil another *vigilem draconem*
5.253-5: *anguis* comes out of the mountains to guard the fleece after Aeetes' prayer
5.526-7: Aeetes asks how Jason could expect to demand the fleece *ab angue*
7.166-9: Juno asks Venus to persuade Medea to help Jason against the *anguem*
7.516ff: the guard of the fleece called *monstra*; *anguem; monstri;* Aeetes wants Medea to use her *draco* against the Greeks (550)
8.60ff: Jason & Medea face the *draco* (*anguem* in 66, *draco* in 71, 92, 107); serpent compared to the Po or the Nile in 90
8.438b: Medea asks how Jason, without her help, could have approached *templa draconis*

Medea

6.45-7: Anausis doesn't know that Medea will be a *monstrum* in marriage
8.395-6: the Minyae ask Jason not to let Medea (a Fury) be the cause of war between East & West

III. REFERENCES by CONTEXT

VICTIMS/RITES

Chthonic Rituals

1.774ff: the necromancy: the bull to be offered frightened by the appearance of Cretheus
3.411-5a: Mopsus instructs Jason to sacrifice 2 steers at dawn (for placating the shades)
3.430-1, 439-40: Minyae sacrifice special sheep for the shades

Divination

1.27b-30: Pelias warned by victims (*haruspices*) on the altar of Jason to trouble him
1.205ff: flame climbs bull on the altar, Mopsus gives his oracle, followed by Idmon (cf. Lucan)
3.354-5a: Cyzicus had ignored warnings in lightning and bird-signs

Thanks/Petitionary/Funerary Offerings/Basic Piety

1.88-90: Jason promises gilded sacrifice (cattle) from both himself and his father to Pallas
1.188-92: the Minyae build altars on the shore for Neptune, the winds, and Glaucus
2.329-31: after the Minyae arrive in Lemnos, offer an ox; first time Venus' altar warm (since when is not clear)
2.334-5: Hypsipyle tells Jason, while on his tour, to offer wine and prayers near Vulcan's cave
2.410ff: *ekphrasis*: Hypsipyle's cloak: the 'rites' of Thoas' rescue

3.334-5: animals sacrificed on funeral pyres at Cyzicus
4.337ff: sacrifice (cattle) to the gods after Pollux defeats Amycus
8.252-4: sacrifice prepared before the wedding ceremony (possibly woodland & domesticated animals)

HUNTERS/QUARRY

1.489-93: tiger cub stolen by hunter on horseback
1.723: Pelias calls Jason a *praedo* when he realizes Acastus is gone
3.19ff: Cyzicus & the lion*
3.56-7: Cybele's ally: Pan haunting & frightening the flocks
3.193-7: Castor hurls his spear at hunter Erymus, but Diana spares her comrade*
3.529-32: Dryope found by Juno moving before the sounds of Hercules in the woods as 'quarry'
3.541-2a: Juno tells Dryope that Hylas is more beautiful than Phoebus in hunting guise
3.545-6: Juno sends a hart through the woods to draw on Hylas
6.146-9: description of the hunting skills of the Exomatae
6.420-2: simile regarding the chariot disaster: hunter and his dogs coming upon the locked stags*
8.27-31: simile of Jason & Medea: the Moon with veiled horns in the forest to meet Latmian hunter Endymion
8.252b-3: Minyae hunt for the wedding feast (and offerings?)

ANIMALS IN WAR

Cat Skins

5.590a: guest of Aeetes (Campesus) in tiger-pelt
6.703-6: Myraces dies in battle; tiger-skin (with purple) 'bleeds' through its mouth

War Dogs

6.106-13: Caspians' war-dogs in battle

Scavengers

Birds: 6.647-8a: Colaxes threatens scavenging by birds
Dogs: 6.311-3a: warrior's taunt threatens cowards in battle (they shall be prey of dogs); 6.646-8a: Colaxes taunts Jason (shall be carrion for dogs and birds)

Cavalry

2.127-30: Venus instructs Rumour to spread about the invasion (includes cavalry) on Lemnos
5.586-8: foreign cavalry-men (*eques*) fighting at Colchis who cultivate a groomed look
5.602-4: warrior Choaspes drinks his horse's blood
5.610-4: Amazon Euryale has a wing-swift chariot (reminiscent of those of Juno & Pallas)
6.33-5: the horses and men in whom Perses put his trust
6.146-7a: Exomatae most famous for the chase & for its horses (compared to the North)
6.161-2a: Moesians change horses in course of battle
6.204ff: Castor notes the Hyrcanians' horses and goes after one (belonging to Gela) for himself
6.234-8: horses of the Sarmatians wear matching armour
6.256-9: Oncheus, in spite of trying to turn his horse, is impaled on a spike along with his mount
6.328: Gesander taunts Canthus, says his own people ride horses rather than build ships & oars

6:386ff: chariot disaster
6.517-23: Absyrtus with his galloping steeds mows down warriors
6.524-8: Absyrtus' friend Aron's cloak billows out over the back of his horse
6.553-4: Argus kills two mounted warriors, strikes them off their horses
6.580-3: Medea imagines how many horses (& men) Jason would single-handedly strike down
6.636-40a: Colaxes, his horse killed beneath him, continues fighting on foot
6.696-8: Myraces and his eunuch enter the fray in a fancy chariot

Animals on Belt/Shield/Arms Bosses & Devices

1.398-401: Phalerus' arms feature an *anguis* slipping from tree and strangling him
1.450-6: *ekphrasis* on shield of Canthus: Neptune's sea-wolves
3.189b-92: warrior Itys on Cyzicus wounded at his belt-buckle with twin-snakes (*dracones)*
6.57-9: twin *serpens* in gold on Colaxes' arms
6. 88-91: Corallians have porcupines on their war banners

ASSOCIATES of the GODS

Big Cats

2.259-60: Bacchus' *lynces/tigres*
3.20-4; 237: Cybele's lion(s)

Birds

1.156-60: omen: eagle steals lamb
2.414-7: eagle in rape of Ganymede
4.68-72, 5.175; 7.355-60: Promethean Vulture
4.633-4a: the Harpies (called 'birds' by Phineus)

Chariot Teams

1.677-80: Neptune with chariot & horses, Triton as driver
2.34-7: Hyperion's car brings evening
2.72-6: Pheobus' chariot in the morning
3.87-92a: the horses of Mars (Fear and Dread)
4.569b-71: even Neptune turns his horses aside from the Clashing Rocks
5.180b-3: wing-footed horses of Juno & Pallas in their chariots

Seals/Sea-Wolves/-Horses

1.130-3: *ekphrasis* of *Argo*; dolphin carrying Thetis
1.450-6: *ekphrasis* on shield of Canthus: Neptune's sea-wolves (*semiferum luporum*)
2.316-9: Proteus (Polyxo claims connection to him) drawn by team of seals (*phocis*)
3.726-8a: Phorcys gathers herd of shell-encrusted seals together in evening

ANIMAL ACCOUTREMENTS: HORNS/BRIDLES/REINS/PLOWS/DIVINE CHARIOTS[457]

Bacchus' Horns

1.726-9: simile of Pelias in his anger against Jason (regarding Acastus): Lycurgus after Bacchus has turned his horns against him & his family in revenge
2.268-72: Hypsipyle disguises Thoas as Bacchus, checks to make sure his horns are visible
3.263b-6: simile of Minyae realizing what they've done to the Doliones: Bacchanals when they realize they've killed Pentheus (the horns of the 'bull' vanish)
5.73-81: narrator addresses the eastern waters, how they've seen Bacchus wreathing his (moist) horns after returning from the East
7.300-4: simile of Medea following Venus: Pentheus follows Bacchus (who has wine-wet horns)

Bacchus' Chariot

2.410ff: *ekphrasis*: Hypsipyle's cloak includes Thoas' escape in Bacchus' chariot

Other Horned Gods/Horns as Tools of Gods

2.482b-4: sacrifice of maidens like Hesione commanded by horned Ammon
3.238: in his frenzy, Cyzicus hears the sounding of horns, *cornua*
8.27-31: simile of Jason & Medea: the Moon with veiled horns in the forest to meet Endymion
8.70-4: Medea be-spelling her snake says she has used Sleep's horn to subdue the weather (Note on page: Statius *Theb*. 2.144, 5.199 and Silius *Pun*. 10.352

Chariots of Other Gods

2.294b-5: Hypsipyle prays to (a) goddess of the sea who has a chariot to speed on Thoas
2.505b-8: simile of the size & power of the sea-monster: power of Orion driving Neptune's chariot with two-hoofed horses (*bipedum equorum*)
3.19-24: Cyzicus kills Cybele's lion while it is in the process of returning to the bridle
3.538-41: Juno bribes the nymph Dryope: (Dryope has seen Bacchus in his triumph with rose-hung reins; Juno says Hylas is more handsome than any in that train)
6.6-7: Mars drives his chariot to Perses' camp (a portent of war)

Horns on Animals

1.774b-7a: blue fillets on the horns of the necromancy bull
6.421-2: in simile regarding the chariot disaster: hunter catches stags because their antlers are locked together in combat
7.587-8: Jason takes the fire-breathing bulls by the horns
7.591-2: first bull's horns are weary (metonymy) and sink to the ground

Reins/Bridles/Plows as Tools of Subjugation or Empowerment/Signs of Status

1.686-8: *Argo* now has reins (cf. above—winds compared to horses, having reins)
2.386-9: simile of Jason as war-horse, now mindful and chomping the bit
3.12-3: Jason gives Cyzicus a Thessalian bridle as a parting gift
4.679-81a: Jason doesn't have time to give rein to the ship before the Rocks begin to close on them 4.683b-5: simile of Juno & Pallas holding back the cliffs like bending horns of bulls under the plow
5.131bff: the rescued castaways tell of the Amazons who first fell from horseback after losing grip of the reins
6.95-6: reins standing in for war chariots/cavalry

[457]Mention of chariots of minor deities is usually to tell time or describe its passage; terms for birds stand in for the Harpies (e.g., 4.633); many mentions of beast-hide, for helmets, shields, armor, etc. (6.379, e.g.).

7.604-6: simile of Jason yoking the bull compared to Lapithes bridling the very first horse

MISCELLANEOUS

1.100-06: animals expected but missing: no animals behaving extraordinarily
5.657: Pallas blames Mars' mother for bringing forth a *monstrum:* how to categorize this?
6. 530ff: Armes: goes about in shaggy hide and wearing deer antlers, harassing flocks as he imagines Pan does

Bibliography.

Abbattista, A. (2016) 'The metaphorical metamorphosis of Medea into a tragic lioness', presented at the conference *Bestiarium: Human and Animal Representations*, University of Verona, 28-20 September 2016.

Addison, C. (1993) 'From Literal to Figurative: An Introduction to the Study of Simile,' in *College English* 55.4:402-19. Urbana.

Agamben, G.; Attell, K., trans. (2004) *The Open: Man and Animal.* Palo Alto.

Aldrete, G.S. (2014) 'Hammers, Axes, Bulls and Blood: Some Practical Aspects of Roman Animal Sacrifice', in *JRS* 104:28-50. Cambridge.

Allen, T.W. (ed.) (1963) *Homeri: Opera, vol. III: Odysseae I-XII*, 2nd ed. Oxford.

--------- (ed.) (1963) *Homeri: Opera, vol. IV: Odysseae XIII-XXIV,* 2nd ed. Oxford.

Ambühl, A. (2010) 'Narrative Hexameter Poetry,' in Clauss and Cuypers (2010) 151-65.

Anderson, W.S. (ed.) (1977) *P. Ovidii Nasonis: Metamorphoses*. Leipzig.

Ando, C. (2003) *Roman Religion*. Edinburgh.

Ankarloo, B. and Clark, S. (eds.) (1999) *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe*, *Volume 2*: *Ancient Greece and Rome*. Philadelphia, PA.

Aricó, G. (1991) 'La Vicenda di Lemno in Stazio e Valerio Flacco', in Korn and Tscheidel (1991) 197- 210.

Augoustakis, A. ed. (2013a) *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic*. Oxford.

--------- (2013b) '*Teichoskopia* and *katabasis*: The Poetics of Spectatorship in Flavian Epic', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 157-75.

Aymard, J. (1951) *Quelques séries de comparaisons chez Lucain. Collection de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier,* II. Montpellier

Baier, T. (2001) *Valerius Flaccus* Argonautica *Buch VI*: *Einleitung und Kommentar* (Zetemata 112). Munich.

Bal, M. and Lewin, J.E. (1983) 'The Narrating and the Focalizing: A Theory of the Agents in Narrative', *Narratology* 17.2:234-69. University Park, PA.

Barchiesi, A. (2009) 'Phaethon and the monsters', in Hardie (2009) 163-88.

-------- (2017) 'Eroi come animali nel circo: perplessi', in Romaldo (2017) 35-9.

Barich, M. (2009) *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica*: a verse translation*. Gambier, OH.

--------- (2014) 'Poet and Readers: Reflections on the Verbal and Narrative Art of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 29-48.

Bates, C. (ed.) (2010) *The Cambridge Companion to Epic.* Cambridge.

Beagon, M. (2014) 'Wondrous Animals in Antiquity', in Campbell (2014) 414-40.

Beard, M., North, J. and Price, S. (1998) Religions *of Rome. Vol. 1: A History.* Cambridge.

Bell, S. and Willekes, C. (2014) 'Horse Racing and Chariot Racing', in Campbell (2014) 478-

90.

Bernstein, N.W. (2014) *'Romanas veluti saevissima cum legiones Tisiphone regesque movet*: Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and the Flavian Era', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 154-69.

Bessone, F. (1991) 'Valerius, Apollonius, and die Gleichnisse: Umformung der Vorlage und Kompositionstechnik', in Korn and Tscheidel (1991) 73-87.

--------- (2013) 'Critical Interactions: Constructing heroic models and imperial ideology in Flavian epic', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 87-106.

Bloch, A. (1970) 'Arma virumque als heroisches Leitmotiv', *MH* 27. 206–11.

Bodson, L. (2014) 'Zoological Knowledge in Ancient Greece and Rome', in Campbell (2014) 556-78.

Bonds, W.S. (1985) 'Two Combats in the *Thebaid*', *TAPA* 115.225-35.

Boyle, A.J. (ed.) (1993) *Roman Epic.* London.

Boyle, A.J. and Dominik W.J. (eds.) (2003) *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text.* Leiden.

Braidotti, R. (2013) *The Posthuman.* Cambridge.

Briggs, Jr., W.W. (1980) 'Narrative and Simile from the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid*,' in *Mnemosyne Supplementum* 58:1-109.

Buckley, E. (2013) 'Visualizing Venus: Epiphany and *Anagnorisis* in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Lovatt and Vout (2013) 78-98.

--------- (2014) 'Valerius Flaccus and Seneca's Tragedies', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 307-25.

Byre, C.S. (1996) 'Distant Encounters: The Prometheus and Phaethon Episodes in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius', *AJP* 117.2:275-83. Baltimore.

–------- (1996b) 'The Killing of Apsyrtus in AR's *Argonautica'*, *Phoenix* 50:3-16. Toronto.

Campbell, G.L. (ed.) (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Oxford.

Castelletti, C. (2014) 'A Hero with a Sandal and a Buskin: the Figure of Jason in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 173-91.

Chesi, G. M., and Spiegel, F., eds. (2019—in production) *Undoing the Human : Classical Literature and the Post-Human.* London.

Clauss, J.J. (1993) *The Best of the Argonauts: The Redefinition of the Epic Hero in Book One of Apollonius'* Argonautica. Berkeley.

--------- (2000) 'Cosmos without Imperium: The Argonautic Journey Through Time', in Harder, Regtuit and Wakker (2000) 11-32.

--------- (2014) 'Myth and Mythopoesis in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 99-114.

Clauss, J.J. and Cuypers, M. (2010) *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature.* Oxford.

Clutton-Brock, J. (2007) 'How Domestic Animals Have Shaped the Development of Human

Societies' in Kalof (2007) 71-96.

Coleman, R. (1982) 'The Gods in the *Aeneid*', *Greece & Rome* 29.2:143-68. Cambridge.

Connell, S.M. (2016) *Aristotle on Female Animals: A Study of the* Generation of Animals. Cambridge.

Conte, G. B.; Segal, C., ed. (1986) *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*. Ithaca, NY.

Courtney, E. (ed.) (1970) *C. Valeri Flacci: Argonauticon, Libri Octo.* Leipzig.

--------- (1988) 'Vergil's Military Catalogues and their Antecedents,' *Vergilius* 34:3-8.

Cowan, R. (2014) 'My Family and Other Enemies: Argonautic Antagonists and Valerian Villains', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 229-48.

Criado, C. (2013) 'The contradictions of Valerius' and Statius' Jupiter', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 195-214.

Cruttwell, R.W. (1947) *Virgil's Mind at Work: An Analysis of the Symbolism of the* Aeneid. Oxford.

Davidson, O.M. (1979) 'Dolon and Rhesus in the "Iliad"', *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 1: 61-66.

Davis, P.J. (2014) 'Medea: From Epic to Tragedy', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 192-210.

de Casanove, O. (1983) 'Lucus Stimulae [Les aiguillons des Bacchanales]', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité* 95.1:55-113.

de Jong, I.J.F. (2014) *Narratology and Classics: A Practical Guide.* Oxford.

Deremetz, A. (2014) 'Authorial Poetics in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 49-71.

Derrida, J., Mallet, M.-L. (ed.) and Wills, D. (trans.) (2008) *The Animal that Therefore I Am*. New York.

Dewald, C., and Marincola, J. (eds.) (2006) *The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus.* Cambridge.

Dombrowski, D. (2014) 'Philosophical Vegetarianism and Animal Entitlements', in Campbell (2014) 535-55.

Eco, U. (1981) 'The Theory of Signs and the Role of the Reader', *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 14.1: 35-45. Chicago.

Effe, B. (2001) 'The Similes of Apollonius Rhodius. Intertextuality and Epic Convention', in Papanghelis and Rengakos (2001) 147-69.

Egan, R. (2014) 'Insects', in Campbell (2014) 180-191.

Ehlers, W.-W. (1980) *Gai Valeri Flacci Setini Balbi Argonauticon libri octo.* Stuttgart.

Eigler, U. and Lefèvre, E. (eds.) (1998) *Ratis omnia vincit: Neue Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus II*. Munich.

Ekroth, G. (2014) 'Animal Sacrifice in Antiquity', in Campbell (2014) 324-54.

Feeney, D.C. (1991) *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford.

Ferenczi, A. (2004) 'Narratologische Beobachtungen über die *Argonautica*', in Spaltenstein (2004b) 47-54.

Finkelberg, M. (2011) *The Homer Encyclopedia*. Chichester.

Fitch, J.G. (1976) 'Aspects of Valerius Flaccus' Use of Similes', in *TAPA* 106:113-24. Baltimore.

Fletcher, G. B. A. (1941) 'Another Word on Dogs in Ancient Warfare', in *G&R* 11.31: 34. Cambridge.

Fögen, T. (2014) 'Animal Communication', in Campbell (2014) 216-232.

Forster, E.S. (1941) 'Dogs in Ancient Warfare', in *G&R* 10.30: 114-17. Cambridge.

Fowler, D. (1991) 'Narrate and Describe: The Problem of Ekphrasis', in *JRS* 81:25-35. Cambridge.

–------- (2000) *Roman Constructions: Readings in Postmodern Latin.* Oxford.

--------- (2000b) 'Deviant Focalization in Vergil's *Aeneid*', in Fowler (2001) 40-63.

–------- (2001) 'Introduction: Narrative', in Harrison (2001) 65-9.

Fränkel, H. (ed.) (1961) *Apollonii Rhodii: Argonautica.* Oxford.

Frings, I. (1998) 'Die Rettung des Thoas', in Eigler and Lefévre (1998) 261-8.

Frisby, D. (2016) 'Gender, Intertextuality, and the *tigrides* and *leones* of the *Thebaid*', presented at the Annual Conference of the Classical Association, Edinburgh, 6-9 April 2016.

Fucecchi, M. (2006) *Una Guerra in Colchide: Valerio Flacco, Argonautiche 6, 1-426*. Pisa.

--------- (2013) 'Looking for the Giants', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 107-22.

--------- (2014) 'War and Love in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 115- 35.

Fuhrer, T. (1998) 'Ahnung und Wissen: Zur Technik des Erzählens von Bekanntem', in Eigler and Lefèvre (1998) 11-26.

Gaertner, J.F. (2001) 'The Homeric Catalogues and Their Function in Epic Narrative', *Hermes* 129.3: 298-305.

Gale, M.R. (1991) 'Man and Beast in Lucretius and the *Georgics*', *CQ* 41.2: 414-26.

--------- (1997) 'The Shield of Turnus (*Aeneid* 7.783-92)', *Greece & Rome* 44.2: 176-96.

–------- (2000) *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The* Georgics*, Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition.* Cambridge.

–------ (2007) *Myth and Poetry in Lucretius*. Cambridge.

Ganiban, R. (2014) 'Virgilian Prophecy and the Reign of Jupiter in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*,' in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 251-68.

Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources, vol. I.* Baltimore.

Garson, R.W. (1963) 'The Hylas Episode in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', *CQ* 13: 260-7. Cambridge.

--------- (1969) 'Homeric Echoes in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', *CQ* 19: 362-6. Cambridge.

Gärtner, U. (1994) *Gehalt und Funktion der Gleichnisse bei Valerius Flaccus*. Stuttgart.

Getty, R. J., (1940) 'The Introduction to the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', *Classical Philology* 35.3:259-73. Chicago.

Gill, C., and Wiseman, T.P. (eds.) (1993) *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*. Liverpool.

Green, S.J. (2009) 'Malevolent Gods and Promethean Birds: Contesting Augury in Augustus's Rome', *TAPA* 139.1:147-67. Baltimore.

Grethlein, J. (2008) 'Memory and Material Objects in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*', in *JHS* 128: 27-51.

Griffin, J. (1985) 'The Fourth *Georgic*, Virgil and Rome,' in Griffin (1994) 163-82.

-------- (1980) *Homer on Life and Death*. Oxford.

–-------- (1994) *Latin Poets and Roman Life*. London.

–-------- (2010) 'Greek Epic', in Bates (2010) 13-30.

Griffin, R.J. (1964) 'These Contraries Such Unity Do Hold': Patterned Imagery in Shakespeare's Narrative Poems', in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 4.1: The English Renaissance, 43-55.

Grimal, P. (1953) 'Jacques Aymard, *Quelques séries de comparaisons chez Lucain* (*Collection de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Montpellier,* t. II.)', in *Revue des Études Anciennes* 55:1, 212-213.

Haraway, D.J. (2008) *When Species Meet.* Minneapolis.

Harden, A. (2014) 'Animals in Classical Art', in Campbell (2014) 24-60.

Hardie, P. (1989) *Virgil's* Aeneid*: Cosmos and Imperium.* Oxford.

–------ (1993) *The Epic Successors of Virgil*. Cambridge.

-------- (2013) 'Flavian Epic and the Sublime', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 125-38.

Hardie, P., ed. (2009) *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture*. Oxford.

Harder, M.A., Regtuit, R.F. and Wakker, G.C. (eds.) (2000) *Apollonius Rhodius.* Leuven.

Harrison, S.J. (ed.) (2001) *Texts*, *Ideas*, *and the Classics*. Oxford.

--------- (2001b) 'Picturing the Future: The Proleptic Ekphrasis from Homer toVergil', in Id. (ed.) (2001) 70-92.

--------- (2007) *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*. Oxford.

--------- (2013) 'Proleptic Ekphrasis in Flavian Epic: Valerius Flaccus and Statius', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 215-27.

Hawtree, L.J. (2011) *Wild Animals in Roman Epic*. Diss. Exeter.

--------- (2014) 'Animals in Epic,' in Campbell (2014) 73-83.

Heerink, M. (2007) 'Going a Step Further: Valerius Flaccus' Metapoetical Reading of Propertius' Hylas', in *CQ* 57:2, 606-20. Cambridge.

–------- (2013) 'Silius versus Valerius: Orpheus in the *Punica* and the *Argonautica*', in Manuwald

and Voigt (2013) 267-78.

--------- (2014) 'Valerius Flaccus, Virgil and the Poetics of Ekphrasis,' in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 72- 95.

Heerink, M. and Manuwald, G., eds. (2014) *Brill's Companion to Valerius Flaccus*. Leiden.

Hershkowitz, D. (1998a) *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*. Oxford.

--------- (1998b) *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica: Abbreviated Voyages in Silver Latin Epic.* Oxford.

Hesk, J. (2013) 'Seeing in the Dark: *kleos*, Tragedy, and Perceptionin *Iliad* 10', in Lovatt and Vout (2013). 32-56.

Hinds, S. (1998) *Allusion and Intertext. The Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry.* Cambridge.

Hollis, A.S., ed. (1989) *Ars Amatoria, Book 1*. Oxford.

Hornsby, R.A. (1966) 'The Armor of the Slain', in *Philological Quarterly* 45.2: 347-59.

Horsfall, N. (2013) *Virgil, Aeneid 6. A Commentary.* Berlin.

Howe, T. (2014) 'Domestication and Breeding of Livestock: Horses, Mules, Asses, Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Swine', in Campbell (2014) 99-108.

Hühn, P., et al. (eds.) *The living handbook of narratology.* Hamburg.

Hulls, J.-M. (2013) '"Well-stored with Subtle Wiles": Pyrene, Psamathe and the Flavian Art of Interaction,' in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 343-60.

Hurn, S. (2012) *Humans and Other Animals: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Human-Animal Interactions.* London.

Hutchins, R. (2016) 'Making the "Absent Referent" Present: the Sacrifice of Women and Animals in Lucretius', presented at the conference *Bestiarium: Human and Animal Representations*, University of Verona, 28-20 September 2016.

Hyland, A. (2003) *The Horse in the Ancient World.* Stroud.

Jennison, G. (1937) *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome.* Manchester.

Johnston, P.A., Mastrocinque, A. and Papioannou S. (eds.) (2016) *Animals in Greek And Roman Religion and Myth.* Cambridge.

Joyce, J.W., trans. (2008) *Thebaid: A Song of Thebes*. Ithaca, NY.

Kalof, L., ed. (2007) *A Cultural History of Animals in Antiquity*. Oxford.

Keith, A. (2014) 'Ovid and Valerius Flaccus', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 269-89.

Kerényi, C. (1959) *The Heroes of the Greeks.* London.

Kitchell Jr., K. (2014) *Animals in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London.

Kleywegt, A.J. (2005) *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica*, Book I: A Commentary.* Leiden.

Korhonen, T., and Ruonakoski, E. (2017) *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece. Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature,* Kindle edition. London.

Korn, M. and Tscheidel, H.J. (eds.) (1991) *Ratis omnia vincit: Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. Hildesheim.

Kozák, D. (2013) 'Traces of the Argo', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 247-66.

Krevans, N. (2002) 'Dido, Hypsipyle, and the bedclothes', *Hermathena: Studies in Hellenistic Poetry*173/174:175-83.

Kronenberg, L. (2009) *Allegories of Farming from Greece and Rome: Philosophical Satire in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil.* Cambridge.

Kyle, D. (2007) *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Oxford.

Kyriakides, S. and De Martino. F., eds. (2004) *Middles in Latin Poetry.* Bari.

Lewis, B.E. (1984) 'Valerius Flaccus' Portrait of Jason: Evidence from the Similes', in *Acta Classica* 27, 91-100. Pretoria.

Lonsdale, S. H. (1990) *Creatures of Speech: Lion, Herding and Hunting Similes in the* Iliad. Stuttgart.

Lovatt, H. and Vout, C. (eds.) (2013) *Epic Visions: Visuality in Greek and Latin Epic and its Reception*. Cambridge.

Lovatt, H. (2013a) *The Epic Gaze: Vision, Gender and Narrative in Ancient Epic*. Cambridge.

-------- (2013b) 'Competing Visions: Prophecy, Spectacle and Theatricality in Flavian Epic', in Augoustakis (2013) 53-70.

–-------- (2014) 'Teamwork, Leadership and Group Dynamics in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 211-28.

Mackay, A.T. (2019—in production) '*Quam soli vidistis equi*: focalization and Animal Subjectivity inValerius Flaccus', in Chesi and Spiegel (2019).

MacKinnon, M. (2014a) 'Hunting', in Campbell (2014) 203-15.

--------- (2014b) 'Pets', in Campbell (2014) 269-81.

Malamud, M.A. and McGuire, jr., D.T. (1993) 'Flavian Variant: Myth, Valerius' *Argonautica*', in Boyle (1993) 192-217.

Manuwald, G. (1999) *Die Cyzicus-Episode und Ihre Funktion in den* Argonautica *des Valerius Flaccus*. Göttingen.

-------- (2005) 'The Narrative Function of Similes in Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica. Comment on Franco Caviglia's Article', in *Aevum Antiquum* N.S. 2, 63-72. Milan.

--------- (2009) 'What Do Humans Get to Know about the Gods and their Plans? On Prophecies and their Deficiencies in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', *Mnemosyne* 62:586-608. Leiden.

--------- (2014) '"Fact" and "Fiction" in Roman Historical Epic', *Greece & Rome* 61.2:204-21. Cambridge.

--------- (ed.) (2015) *Valerius Flaccus: Argonautica Book III.* Cambridge.

Manuwald, G. and Voigt, A. (eds.) (2013) *Flavian Epic Interactions.* Berlin.

Maras, D.F. (2016) '*Numero Avium Regnum Trahebant*: Birds, Divination, and Power Amongst Romans and Etruscans', in Johnston et al. (2016) 85-114.

Martin, J. (ed.) (1953) *T. Lucreti Cari: de Rerum Natura, Libri Sex*. Leipzig.

Martindale, C.A. (1993) *Redeeming the Text.* Cambridge.

–------ (2005) *Latin Poetry and the Judgement of Taste: An Essay in Aesthetics.* Oxford.

Massaro, A. (2014) 'The Living in Lucretius' "De rerum natura": Animals' "ataraxia" and Humans' Distress', in *Relations* 2.2: 45-58.

Mayor, A. (2014) 'Animals in Warfare', in Campbell (2014) 282-93.

McAuley, M. (2015) *Reproducing Rome: Motherhood in Virgil, Ovid, Seneca and Statius*. Oxford.

McInerney, J. (2014) 'Civilization, Gastronomy, and Meat-eating', in Campbell (2014) 248-68.

Melville, A.D., trans. (1986) *Ovid*: *Metamorphoses.* Oxford.

Monro, D.B. and Allen, T.W. (eds.) (1920) *Homeri: Opera, vol. I: Iliadis I-XII,* 3rd ed. Oxford.

--------- (eds.) (1920) *Homeri: Opera, vol. II: Iliadis XII-XXIV,* 3rd ed. Oxford.

Morford, M.P.O. (1967) *The Poet Lucan: Studies in Rhetorical Epic.* Oxford.

Mori, A. (2008) *The Politics of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica*. Cambridge.

Moyo, M. (2016) *Fauna in Archaic Greek and Kalanga Oral Wisdom Literatures.* Diss. Cape Town.

Mozley, J.H. (1936) *Valerius Flaccus: Argonautica.* Cambridge, MA.

Murgatroyd, P. (2009) *A Commentary on Book 4 of Valerius Flaccus*' Argonautica. Leiden.

Mynors, R.A.B (ed.) (1969) *P. Vergili Maronis: Opera.* Oxford.

Nelsestuen, G.A. (2015) *Varro the Agronomist: Political Philosophy, Satire, and Agriculture in the Late Republic.* Columbus.

Nielson, K.P. (1983) 'The *Tropaion* in the *Aeneid*', in *Vergilius* 29: 27-33.

Newmyer, S. (2014) 'Being the One and Becoming the Other: Animals in Ancient Philosophical Schools', in Campbell (2014) 507-34.

Norden, E. (1957) *P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis VI.* Leipzig and Berlin.

Ogden, D. (2013) *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford.

--------- (2014) 'Animal Magic', in Campbell (2014) 294-309.

Oliensis, E. (2004) 'The Power of Image-Makers: Representation and Revenge in Ovid *Metamorphoses 6* and *Tristia 4*', *Classical Antiquity* 23.2: 285-321.

Östenberg, I. (2014) 'Animals and Triumphs', in Campbell (2014) 491-506.

Panoussi, V. (2009) *Greek Tragedy in Vergil's* "Aeneid": *Ritual, Empire, and Intertext.* Cambridge.

Papanghelis, T.D. and Rengakos, A. (eds.) (2001) *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*. Leiden.

Parkes, R. (2009) *'Sed tardum (Ach.* 1.47): Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* as Prequel to Statius'

Achilleid', Materiali e Discussioni per l'Analisi dei Testi Classici 63:291-7. Rome.

--------- (2013) 'Chthonic Ingredients and Thematic Concerns: the Shaping of the Necromancy in the *Thebaid*', in Augoustakis (2013) 165-80.

---------- (2014) 'The Epics of Statius and Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica*', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 326-39.

Payne, M. (2010) *The Animal Part: Human and Other Animals in the Poetic Imagination.* Chicago.

Penwill, J. (2013) 'Imperial Encomia in Flavian epic', in Manuwald and Voigt (2013) 29-54.

Perutelli, A., ed. (1997) *C. Valeri Flacci Argonauticon : liber 7.* Florence.

Pollan, M. (2006) *The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals*. New York.

Potts, C.R. (2009) 'The Art of Piety and Profit at Pompeii: A New Interpretation of the Painted Shop Façade at IX.7.1-2', *Greece & Rome* 56.1:55-70.

Purves, A.C. (2010) *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative.* Cambridge.

Putnam, M.C.J. (1995) 'Ganymede and Virgilian Ekphrasis', in *AJP* 116.3:419-40.

Pütz, B. (2014) 'Good to Laugh With: Animals in Comedy', in Campbell (2014) 61-72.

Reed, J.D., ed. (2013) *Metamorfosi. Volume V, Libri X-XII.* Milan.

Reiks, R. (1981) 'Die Gleichnisse Vergils', *ANRW* ii 31.2:1011-1110.

Romaldo, A. (2017) *A Maurizio Bettini: Pagine stravaganti perun filologico stravagante*. Milan.

Romm, J. (2006) 'Herodotus and the natural world', in Dewald and Marincola (2006) 178-91.

Rood, N. (2007) 'Hesiod's Metallurgy Simile (*Th*.861-7)', in *Cambridge Classical Journal* 53:112-23.

Rosati, G. (2001) 'Mito e potere nell'epica di Ovidio', *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*', 46: 39-61.

Rose, H.J. (1956) *A Handbook of Latin Literature.* London.

Rosner-Siegel, J.A. (2010) 'The Oak and the Lightning: Lucan *Bellum Civile* 1. 135-157', in Tesoriero (2010) 184-200.

Rüpke, J. (2007) *A Companion to Roman Religion*. Hoboken.

Sachs, E. (1963) 'Some Notes on the Lupercalia', *TAPA* 84.3:266-79.

Schaeffer, J.-M. (2013) 'Fictional vs. Factual Narration', in Hühn, et al. Accessed online [November 2016]: http://wikis.sub.unihamburg.de/lhn/index.php/Fictional_vs._Factual_Narration #Bibliography

Scheid, J. (2007) 'Sacrifices for Gods and Ancestors', in Rüpke (2007) 263-72.

Schenk, P. (1991) 'Cyzicus, Perses und das Eingreifen der Götter', in Korn and Tscheidel (1991) 139-53.

Schiesaro, A. (2014) '*Materiam superabat opus*: Lucretius Metamorphosed', in *JRS* 104:73-104.

Scott, W.C. (2009) *The Artistry of the Homeric Simile*. Hanover, NH.

Segal, C. (1971) *The Theme of the Mutilation of the Corpse in the* Iliad. Leiden.

Shackleton Bailey, D.R. (ed.) (1997) *M. Annaei Lucani: de Bello Civili, Libri X*, 2nd ed. Stuttgart and Leipzig.

–-------- (ed., trans.) (2003) *Statius' Thebaid, Books 1-7*. Cambridge, Mass.

Shapiro, H.A. (1980) 'Jason's Cloak', *TAPA* 110: 263-86.

Shelton, J.-A. (2014) 'Spectacles of Animal Abuse', in Campbell (2014) 461-77.

Shipton, G.M.W. (1986) 'The *Iuvenca* Image in Catullus 63', *CQ* 36.1: 268-70. Cambridge.

Slatkin, L. (1992) *The Power of Thetis: Allusion and Interpretation in the* Iliad. Berkeley.

Smith, A.V., Proops, L., Grounds, K., Wathan, J., and McComb, K. (2016) 'Functionally relevant responses to human facial expressions of emotion in the domestic horse (*Equus caballus*)', in *Biology Letters* 12:2.

Smith, S.D. (2014) *Man and Animal in Severan Rome: The Literary Imagination of Claudius Aelianus.* Cambridge.

Sommerstein, A.H. (2010) *The Tangled Ways of Zeus: And Other Studies In and Around Greek Tragedy.* Oxford.

Spaltenstein, F. (2002) *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valérius Flaccus (livres 1 et 2)*. Brussels.

--------- (2004a) *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valérius Flaccus (livres 3, 4 et 5)*. Brussels.

-------- (ed.) (2004b) *Ratis omnia vincit: Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus III*. Munich.

--------- (2005) *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valérius Flaccus (livres 6, 7 et 8)*. Brussels.

Stadler, H. (1991) 'Hercules' Kampf mit dem Seeungheuer (Val. Fl. 2,497-549)', in Korn and Tscheidel (1991) 181-96.

–-------- (1993) *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica VII. *Ein Kommentar.* Hildesheim.

Stephens, S.A. (2015) *Callimachus: the Hymns.* Oxford.

Stover, T. (2003) 'Confronting Medea: Genre, Gender, and Allusion in the Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus', in *Classical Philology* 98:123-47. Chicago.

-------- (2009) 'Apollonius, Valerius Flaccus, and Statius: Argonautic Elements in *Thebaid* 3.499-647', *American Journal of Philology,* 130.3:439-55. Baltimore.

--------- (2011) 'Unexampled Exemplarity', in *TAPA*, 141.1: 171-200. Baltimore.

--------- (2012) *Epic & Empire in Vespasianic Rome: A New Reading of Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica*. Oxford.

-------- (2014) 'Lucan and Valerius Flaccus: Rerouting the Vessel of Epic Song', in Heerink and Manuwald (2014) 290-306.

Strauss Clay, J. (2007) 'Homer's Trojan Theater', *TAPA*, 137: 233-52. Baltimore.

Struck, O. (2014) 'Animals and Divination', in Campbell (2014) 310-23.

Summers, W. (1894) *A Study of the* Argonautica *of Valerius Flaccus*. Cambridge.

Syme, R. (1929) 'The Argonautica of Valerius Flaccus', *CQ,* 23:129-37. Cambridge.

Taliercio, A. (1992) *Argonautiche, Libro VII.* Rome.

Taylor, P.R. (1994) 'Valerius' Flavian *Argonautica*', *CQ* 44:212-35. Cambridge.

Temple, O., and Temple, R., transs. (1998) *Aesop: The Complete Fables*. London.

Tesoriero, C., ed. (2010) *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Lucan*. Oxford.

Thomas, R.F. (1979) 'Theocritus, Calvus, and *Eclogue 6*', *Classical Philology* 74.4: 337-9. Chicago.

Thomas, J.E. (2010) 'Lucan's Bulls: A Problematic Simile at *Bellum Civile* 2.601-9', in *The Classical Journal* 105:2, 153-62.

Thompson, D.W. (1895) *A Glossary of Greek Birds*. Oxford.

Thumiger, C. (2014) 'Animals in Tragedy', in Campbell (2014) 84-98.

Toohey, P. (2010) 'Roman Epic', in Bates (2010) 31-54.

Toynbee, J.M.C. (2013) *Animals in Roman Life & Art.* London.

Trzaskoma, S. and Smith, R., trans. (2007) *Apollodorus'* Library *and Hyginus'* Fabulae*: Two Handbooks of Greek Mythology*. Indianapolis.

Tucker, R.A. (1969) 'The Speech-Action-Simile Formula in Lucan's "*Bellum civile*",' in *The Classical Journal* 64:8, 366-70.

Tuttle, A. (2013) 'Argive Augury and Portents in the *Thebaid*',' in Augoustakis (2013) 71-87.

Volk, K., ed. (2008) *Virgil's Georgics.* Oxford.

Von Glinski, M.L. (2012) *Simile and Identity in Ovid's* Metamorphoses. Cambridge.

Waldau, P. (2013) *Animal Studies: An Introduction.* Oxford.

Wijsman, H. J.W. (1996) *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica*, Book V: A Commentary*. Leiden.

--------- (2000) *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica*, Book VI: A Commentary*. Leiden.

Wilhelm, R.M. (1988) 'Cybele: the Great Mother of Augustan Order', *Vergilius* 34: 77-101. Atlanta.

Willekes, C. (2016). *The Horse in the Ancient World. From Bucephalus to the Hippodrome.* London.

Wolfe, C. (2009) *What is posthumanism?* Minneapolis.

Wollastan, G.W. (1933) 'Heraldry', in *JRSA* 81.4198: 574-86.

Woodward, W. (2008) *The Animal Gaze: Animal Subjectivities in Southern African Narratives.* Johannesburg.

Zanker, P. (1990) *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Ann Arbor.

Zingross, M. (1998) *Herodotus' Views of Nature*. Athens.

Zissos, A. (1999) 'Allusion and Narrative Possibility in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', *Classical Philology* 94:289-301. Chicago.

--------- (2003) 'Spectacle and Elite in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus,' in Boyle and

Dominik (2003) 659-84.

-------- (2004) 'Terminal Middle: The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus', in Kyriakides and De Martino (2004) 311-44.

--------- (2008) *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica, Book 1: A Commentary.* Oxford.